

Forty-Fifth Annual
REPORT

of the

Hawaiian Historical
Society

FOR THE YEAR 1936



Honolulu, Hawaii
Published June, 1937

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OFFICERS FOR 1937

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Trustee until 1939.....	THOMAS W. ELLIS
Trustee until 1939.....	WALTER F. FREAR
Trustee until 1939.....	PENROSE C. MORRIS

TRUSTEE, LIBRARY OF HAWAII BRUCE CARTWRIGHT

COMMITTEES

Finance Committee

Walter F. Frear	Thomas W. Ellis, Chairman	J. Tice Phillips
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House Committee

Mrs. Violet A. Silverman	Miss Margaret Newman, Chairman	Miss Bernice Judd
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Editorial and Printing Committee

Arthur W. Slaten	Ralph S. Kuykendall, Chairman	John F. G. Stokes
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Donald Billam-Walker	Walter F. Frear, Chairman	Edwin North McClellan
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Peter H. Buck	Henry P. Judd, Chairman	Miss Maude Jones
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Nominating Committee

Miss Ethel M. Damon	Penrose C. Morris, Chairman	Arthur C. Alexander
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MINUTES OF ANNUAL MEETING

February 26, 1937

The annual meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held on the above date at the Library of Hawaii.

The reports of President Miss Ethel M. Damon, Treasurer Thomas W. Ellis, and Librarian Miss Caroline P. Green were received for publication in the annual report of the Society.

The following officers were elected:

President (to serve for one year), Mr. Edwin H. Bryan, Jr.

Trustees (to serve for two years), Messrs. Thomas W. Ellis, Walter F. Frear, and Penrose C. Morris.

A paper by Professor Huc-M. Luquiens of the University of Hawaii on the subject "Kamehameha's Portrait" was presented by Miss Damon.

A paper by Judge F. W. Howay on "The *Caroline* and the *Hancock* at Hawaii in 1799" was presented by Mr. Kuykendall.

Professor Henry P. Judd of the University of Hawaii read an interesting paper on "Great Britain and France in the Society Islands."

Mr. Edwin G. Burrows of the Bishop Museum read a paper giving, from native tradition, an account of "George Manini in Uvea (Wallis Island)".

Mr. John F. G. Stokes gave an abstract of a study which he had made on the subject of "Dune Sepulture, Battle Mortality, and Kamehameha's Alleged Defeat on Kauai."

The meeting was then adjourned.

R. S. KUYKENDALL,
Secretary.

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

To the Members of the
Hawaiian Historical Society:

Your president for 1936 is happy to record a steady interest among members and officers during the year, with a net gain of 15 in the membership and a small credit balance in the treasury.

Regular meetings of the trustees were held early in 1936 and 1937; but none of the society as a whole until the regular annual meeting on February 26, 1937, when papers were presented by Mr. Luquiens, Judge Howay, Mr. Judd, Mr. Stokes and Mr. Burrows. All of these are to be printed.

Aside from these papers and routine work the year 1936 shines chiefly by reflected light, since its outstanding functions has been the unanimous approval given officially by its trustees on the first volume of Mr. R. S. Kuykendall's history of Hawaii. This work is a valuable contribution to our island history. We congratulate its author and the University of Hawaii upon its progress and anticipate eagerly its appearance in print.

Regretting that the president's almost continuous absence from town has prevented proper activity during 1936, and relying confidently on the new president to remedy that lack in 1937, I remain,

Yours very truly,

ETHEL M. DAMON,
President, Hawaiian Historical Society.

Honolulu, February 26, 1937.

TREASURER'S REPORT

February 6, 1936, to February 8, 1937

INCOME

Balance in Commercial Account as of Feb. 6, 1936.....	\$ 341.43	
Initiation Fees	8.00	
Dues	316.00	
Dues, Kauai Historical Society.....	57.00	
Sale of Reports and old Law Books.....	126.32	
		<u>\$ 848.75</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Dues California Historical Society.....	10.00	
Dues Business Historical Society.....	10.00	
Dues American Historical Assn.....	3.00	
Dues Hawaiian Volcano Research Assn.....	5.00	
Mellon Associates (Meeting notices, mailing reports).....	23.29	
Purchase of Books.....	61.15	
Printshop (375 copies of 44th Annual Report).....	476.10	
Kamehameha Schools (binding books).....	61.20	
Bishop Trust (Safe Deposit Box).....	3.30	
Library of Hawaii (rent of Auditorium and name folders).....	9.00	
Postage stamps	1.00	
Framing Pictures.....	6.40	669.40
		<u>179.31</u>
Balance on Commercial Account Feb. 8, 1937.....		179.31

ENDOWMENT FUND

Balance in Savings Account Feb. 6, 1936.....	1,326.63	
Interest on Savings Account.....	29.93	
Interest on Bonds.....	100.00	
Dividends, von Hamm-Young stock.....	59.68	
Olaa Bond No. 121 called.....	1,010.00	2,526.24

ASSETS

Two \$1000 Theo. H. Davies Bonds, par value.....	2,000.00	
Ten shares von Hamm-Young Preferred Stock.....	995.00	
Cash—Commercial Account.....	179.31	
Cash—Savings Account.....	2,526.24	\$5,700.55

Respectfully submitted,

THOMAS W. ELLIS,
Treasurer.

February 24th, 1937.

Audited and found correct:

D. W. ANDERSON,
Auditor.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

1936

To the Officers and Members of the
Hawaiian Historical Society:

The past year brought so many questions to the library that much of my time was spent in research, to the detriment of other work. But it is always a satisfaction to help the inquirer who comes in person, telephones or writes for information. Names and dates have been verified, newspapers searched, pictures of persons and places located. Much time was spent in making a list of all the published reports and opinions of the Attorney-General of Hawaii for the librarian of Cornell Law School for publication in the Law Library Journal.

A letter from Dallas, Texas, asks whether the "History of Hawaii", by Ralph S. Kuykendall is still in print. The writer borrowed a copy of the book from the New York Public Library; but moved to Texas before finishing it, and the Dallas library did not have it.

Mrs. Marguerite Eyer Wilber of Pasadena, California, is translating and preparing for publication a manuscript by Alexandre Dumas, dealing with the Hawaiian Islands 1853-1854. The narrative recounts the travels of an imaginary (or perhaps real) Madame Giovanni. The translator wrote to the California Historical Society in San Francisco for help on items for footnotes. Advised to write to Honolulu, she submitted ten questions. I was very glad to send her information on buildings in Honolulu, such as the Bethel Church, the Globe, French and Commercial Hotels; names of streets; the correct spelling, nature and uses of *pulu*; the French Consuls, and other prominent residents of the time. Credit should be given to Miss Mary A. Burbank for help in placing a Mrs. Patterson, daughter of Elisha H. Allen, the American Consul. Mrs. Wilber was so grateful that she sent a copy of her translation of "A Gil Blas in California", also by Alexandre Dumas; the first English version of a colorful account

of the adventures of a French youth in California during the gold-rush days of 1849.

A letter from Auckland, New Zealand, calls for any information on the gun-boat "Prince Regent", which was presented to Kamehameha II, by the British Government in 1822. A recent request from Vancouver, British Columbia, for a copy of the article on the "Death of David Douglas", which appeared in the Hilo Tribune for August 22, 1896, was answered by having a photostat copy made and forwarded. I have recently sent all the data I could find on the subject of Edwin Booth in Honolulu in 1855, to someone in New Jersey, who is evidently writing a biography of the great tragedian.

By purchase and gift a few new titles have been added: The three-volume set of "Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution", by Sanford B. Dole and Lorrin A. Thurston, edited and indexed by Andrew Farrell; "Hawaii and its Race Problem", by William A. Du Puy, published under the auspices of the United States Department of the Interior; "An Island is Born", the geological story of Oahu by Dr. Norah D. Stearns; "In the Tracks of the Trades", by Lewis R. Freeman; "Introduction to the Bibliography of Captain James Cook", by Maurice Holmes, a limited edition published in London; "The History of the Hawaii National Guard from Feudal Times until June 30, 1935", written by Charles L. Warfield and presented as a thesis to the University of Hawaii for a Masters Degree in history; the "Hawaii Jubilee Book", written in commemoration of Kamehameha the Great and King Kalakaua.

Madame Rose de Saulces de Freycinet, the wife of Captain Louis de Freycinet accompanied her husband on the French corvette "Uranie" that visited Hawaii in 1819. She kept a journal and wrote many letters home, giving her experiences and observations, which were published in Paris in 1927. From Francis Edwards in London we purchased a copy of this handsome, illustrated volume. The part relating to the Sandwich Islands has been translated by Hon. Victor S. K. Houston and is appearing in the *Paradise of the Pacific* beginning with November 1936.

Mrs. Restarick kindly presented the library with Bishop Restarick's scrapbook, containing his historical articles which were printed in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin some years ago. Carefully

arranged and indexed this is a valuable acquisition. We are indebted to the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Co. for a copy of "The Log of the First Trans-Pacific Air Service"; to Mrs. Mary D. Frear for an autographed copy of her booklet, "Memory's Silver Screen of Hawaii's Social Life"; to Mr. Bruce Cartwright and Mr. Oscar Mayall for papers relating to Hawaiian volcanoes; to Hon. George P. Cooke for the pamphlet "Puleoo; the Story of Molokai" by Gerrit P. Judd; to Mr. James S. McCandless for his recent book "Brief History of the McCandless Brothers, and their part in the Development of Artesian Wells in the Hawaiian Islands, 1880-1936"; to Mr. Charles W. Kenn for a copy of "Common and Every-day Words, translated into the Hawaiian Language by the Hawaiian Language League."

Space does not allow me to list all the pamphlets received by gift and exchange, all of value to the work. But I wish particularly to note the receipt of a typed copy of "Bibliography of the Hawaiian Catholic Mission", compiled by the late Father Reginald Yzendoorn in 1912; and a typed copy of "Answers by the Sandwich Island missionaries to the questions in the Circular of March 15, 1833", which was sent to missionaries of the American Board Commissioners of Foreign Missions. Miss Bernice Judd, librarian of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society very thoughtfully had the copies made for our files.

Through the courtesy of Mr. Kenneth P. Emory of the Bishop Museum, we received from Mr. Harry G. Beasley of the Cranmore Ethnological Museum in England, a water-color copy of the "Temple of the King in Tiritatea Bay", plate No. V of the paintings of M. Louis Choris. The picture has been framed and finds a place on our walls.

Our bid to supply a full set of the publications of the Society for \$53.00 was accepted by the National Archives, Washington, D. C. Requests are frequently received for not only the Annual reports, but further numbers in Papers, Reprints and Genealogical series. Sixteen volumes of continuations have recently been returned by the Kamehameha School bindery. There is great need of having the bound newspapers repaired, so as to prolong their usefulness.

Respectfully submitted,

CAROLINE P. GREEN,

Librarian.

KAMEHAMEHA'S PORTRAIT¹

By Huc-M. Luquiens

Associate Professor of Art, University of Hawaii

Kamehameha the Great was painted once from life, in a red waistcoat and white shirt sleeves. This was when he posed, somewhat unwillingly, for Choris, the Russian artist who sailed with Captain Otto von Kotzebue on his voyage of exploration in the Pacific. We know what this portrait was like, not only from comments by Kotzebue and by Choris himself, but from the engravings that illustrated the various editions of Kotzebue's *Voyage of Discovery*. It seems probable, however, that modern investigators have never seen the actual painting that Choris made when the king posed before him. We still lack the authoritative "original," and it is noticeable, here in Hawaii, that when a portrait of Kamehameha is wanted, a very unauthoritative kind of illustration is ordinarily used.

Kamehameha's portrait has always been a subject of controversy. Choris himself, it seems to me, initiated a process of mystification, and there remains a latent distrust of our knowledge of the king's appearance which has prevented either the acceptance of an authoritative portrait, or the establishment of a standard interpretation such as usually grows into being in the depiction of a national hero. The fact is, we have too many portraits, practically all of them deriving from the red-vested painting of Choris, but so differently treated, in some instances, as to seem hardly the same man. It is impossible to list all of them, but a few which have been most commonly discussed may be enumerated, the present writer limiting himself, frankly, to those which are available for examination, either at first hand or in photographic reproduction.

There are, first, the engravings which illustrate Kotzebue's *Voyage of Discovery*, the portrait of the German edition, at least,

¹ First read, in abbreviated form, before the Social Science Association of Honolulu, January 4, 1937. The author makes grateful acknowledgment of the courtesy of the Honolulu Academy of Arts in furnishing photographs for four of the illustrations that accompany this article.

having the authorization of the explorer himself. There are, also, two quite different lithograph portraits appearing in different copies of Choris' *Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde*. What seems to be a water color study for one of these lithographs was recently exhibited at the Honolulu Academy of Arts, as one of some thirty sketchbook drawings of Hawaiian subjects, presumably by Choris, a number of which were almost surely used in the preparation of his book. This collection is a recent find, the property of Mr. Donald Angus, of Honolulu and London, who has been a very successful collector of Hawaiian antiquities in Europe. Here in Honolulu, also, for a number of years, we have had Mr. Bruce Cartwright's water color portrait, which I regard as a replica by Choris from his own original. And there is a small and very early oil painting in the Boston Athenaeum.

As we go on to portraits of obviously later date, their importance becomes more doubtful. There is a crude engraving, made at the Lahainaluna School sometime between 1833 and 1843. There are two oils in the Bishop Museum, deriving from Choris as regards the red vest, very quaint both of them, but very unskilful as interpretations of the face. And there are, further, a rather crude oil painting in the Queen Emma Home, the much more effective oil in the throne room of the Iolani Palace, and a crayon drawing from the Kaiulani Collection, now in the Bishop Museum. These three portraits, outside of various divergences in the face, have this in common, that the red vest of Choris, somewhat changed, is ingeniously veiled under a feather cloak. The Kaiulani drawing in particular, with the prestige of having been a part of the royal collections, has been the most used of all the portraits for reproduction in recent years. This drawing, signed by the artist, C. W. Ewing, is no doubt an interpretation from the Kotzebue engravings, but was evidently the result of an effort to make a more flattering likeness than Choris was thought to have achieved. The artist was responding to the customary request that the subject be made to look "younger." The face is young enough, but has little else to recommend it. The robust vigor of Choris is gone, and for it is substituted a vapid smoothness of a very artificial sort.

In addition to these pictures, there are two bronze statues, one standing before the Judiciary Building in Honolulu, and the

other in Kohala where Kamehameha was born, the former being in reality a replica of the latter. These monuments have an interesting story of their own, but they have no bearing on our subject, inasmuch as they were frankly modeled, both face and figure, from the finest looking Hawaiian that could be found, with no attempt at portraiture.

For first hand Kamehameha portraiture, then, we must inevitably go back to Choris. The difficulties that arise in trying to trace the history and implications of Choris' portrait have never been adequately threshed out. For any clarification of the problems involved, even of a tentative sort, the threads of the story must be picked up with considerable care.

When the great explorers came into the Pacific Ocean at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, their scientific personnel usually included draughtsmen, who took the place of the photographers who would accompany such expeditions of the present day. Three of these artists were outstanding men: Webber, who sailed with Cook on his third voyage, in the course of which he discovered and twice visited the Hawaiian Islands in 1778 and 1779; Ludwig Choris, a Russian artist of German extraction, who was with Kotzebue, 1815 to 1818; and Arago, with the French expedition of Freycinet, stopping at Hawaii in 1819. Their drawings, it must be said, are often exasperating to ethnologists, in their free and easy treatment of archeological detail, but in the large they produced a remarkable series of sketches, often working under difficult and hurried conditions.

Webber, however, was too early to have any realization that he should have drawn Kamehameha for us. When he was in Hawaii, Kamehameha was still a lesser chief, a half seen vision out of the darkness. It is certain that Webber made no picture of him. Arago, on the other hand, was too late. He made his pictures in Hawaii a short three or four months after the king's death. Vancouver, unfortunately for us, though he visited the islands and knew the king in his prime in 1793 and 1794, had with him no artist of even mediocre ability. It was Choris alone who had opportunity to paint Kamehameha, as an old man, in 1816.

Though the Cook and Vancouver expeditions produced no pictures of Kamehameha, their records included written descrip-

tions of the most striking sort. It was on Captain Cook's second visit to the islands, in 1779, that he and his officers made the acquaintance of Kamehameha, as the nephew of the ruling king Kalaniopuu, and one of his attendant chiefs. Kamehameha at that time, according to the school of chronology that one follows, was anywhere from twenty to forty-three years old, presumably much nearer the former age. It was not Captain Cook, but Captain King, who spoke of him. Carrying on the journal of the voyage after Cook's death at Kaawaloa, he provides us a first unforgettable description. The officers had gone on shore at Kealakekua Bay to exchange courtesies with Kalaniopuu, and Captain King was surprised to find that he had already seen the king and some of his company on board the ship *Discovery*, when it lay off Maui some weeks before. Amongst this number, says Captain King, was Kalaniopuu's "nephew, Maiha-Maiha, whom at first we had some difficulty in recollecting, his hair being plastered over with a dirty brown paste . . . which was no mean heightening to the most savage face I ever beheld." This is our introduction to Kamehameha, the future king of Hawaii.

Fourteen years later, when Captain George Vancouver, who had been with Captain Cook, next saw Kamehameha, the latter was already a king of established prestige. Vancouver renewed his acquaintance with him on his second visit to Hawaii, in 1793. He had expected to recognize Kamehameha by that "savage" countenance that he and Captain King had remembered, but "was agreeably surprized," he says, "in finding that his riper years had softened that stern ferocity which his younger days had exhibited, and had changed his general deportment to an address characteristic of an open, cheerful, and sensible mind; combined with great generosity and goodness of disposition." Nevertheless, Vancouver had opportunity to notice again the savage and gloomy austerity of countenance that he remembered, as when he saw the king's face darken at the sight of Kaiana, a chief whom Kamehameha no doubt knew to be a dangerous rival, and who in fact later became an active conspirator against him.

Vancouver's account is only one of several, from various sources, that show Kamehameha as a primitive king, magnificent in bodily vigor but harsh in feature, whose face, however, was enlivened and enhanced with the spark of true character and in-

telligence. It was such a king, rather than a handsome hero of romance, that Choris was to paint when Captain Kotzebue came to anchor off Kailua in 1816. At that date, Kamehameha was perhaps sixty years old or more, and, as far as we can guess, had never been painted by anyone.

Kotzebue himself describes the royal sitting. He was astonished, first of all, on meeting the king, to find him in rather elaborate European costume, the costume, in fact, which included the red vest and white sleeves of Choris' portrait. The chiefs in attendance were not so well gotten up as the king, being dressed simply in black frock coats and small white straw hats. The coats seemed ludicrous to him on the naked bodies, the more so that they rarely fit. They were buttoned with difficulty, and the chiefs perspired nobly in their anxiety to be correct. Kotzebue found it singular that savages should surpass even Europeans in bearing the inconveniences of fashion. European costume was evidently the vogue at Kamehameha's court; neither king nor chiefs wished to appear in anything else before their visitors.

Choris, before he asked the king to pose, had already painted several of the chiefs. He wanted a portrait of the king himself, however, and showed him the pictures he had made. Kotzebue continues, "Even Tamaahmaah looked with surprise at the work of M. Choris, but long resisted my entreaties to suffer himself . . . to be transferred to paper; probably because he connected some idea of magic with this art." The king finally consented on the ground that the Russian emperor would like his portrait. Choris, in his own account in his *Voyage Pittoresque*, says that Kamehameha dressed specially for the pose. This seems, however, a build-up for his later implied claim that he saw the king in native costume; Kotzebue certainly indicates pretty clearly that Kamehameha wore his red vest throughout the day. At any rate, Choris continues the story, "imagine my surprise, on seeing this monarch display himself in the costume of a sailor; he wore blue trousers, a red waistcoat, a clean white shirt, and a necktie of yellow silk. I begged him to change his dress; he refused absolutely and insisted on being painted as he was." So Choris set to work. Kotzebue reports further, "to my astonishment, M. Choris succeeded in taking a very good likeness of him, though Tamaahmaah, in order to embarrass him, did not sit still a moment, and made

all kinds of faces, in spite of my entreaties." Mr. John F. G. Stokes, the well known authority on Hawaiian material, surmises that this face-making was not mere royal whimsy, but rather the result of the king's superstitious fear of hostile magic if the picture should be too close a portrait.

In any case Captain Kotzebue pronounced it "a very good likeness." It was this likeness that was reproduced a few years later in the engravings of the different editions of Kotzebue's *Voyage of Discovery*. Furthermore, all surmise to the contrary notwithstanding, it was surely the only portrait that Choris made directly from the king. Kotzebue's party was with Kamehameha for one day only at this time, November 24, 1816. It was a full day for all concerned, as the account shows in great detail. Choris was no exception. He not only painted a number of the chiefs and the king himself, as we have seen, but he drew or painted partly queen Kaahumanu and the king's son Liholiho in their respective houses, and he sketched a neighboring temple, and other local curiosities. The Russians took leave of the king at five o'clock, sailing that night, and the next day were on the ocean between Hawaii and Maui.

They landed at Honolulu on November 28, for refitting as had been planned. Repairs to the ship were commenced, and as visits were interchanged, Kamehameha's portrait was shown to the Oahu chiefs, and recognized with every show of pleasure. "When it was known on shore," says Kotzebue, "that we had Tamaah-maah on paper, we were visited daily by a great number of people to see him." Finally, after some necessary delay, the expedition sailed for the Marshall Islands.

Kotzebue made a second visit to Hawaii, landing, probably, at Kiholo, north of Kailua, on September 28, 1817. He was in search of the king, who was reported to be fishing for bonita off that coast. The king came in late, clad only in his malo, but having given the Captain a fine fish, immediately dressed himself once more in the red vest and velveteen trousers, as they had seen him in the previous year. After the observation of proper formalities and the transaction of necessary business, the Russians sailed the same evening, just as before, to refit in Honolulu. Two weeks were spent in that port, and at the moment of taking leave of Kareimoku, who was in charge on Oahu, Kotzebue gave



KAMEHAMEHA I

by Ludwig Choris

Water color owned by Mr. Bruce Cartwright. Presumably a replica made by Choris for publication as an engraving in Kotzebue's "Voyage of Discovery in the South Seas and to Behring's Straits," Weimar, 1821.



KAMEHAMEHA I

by Ludwig Choris

Water color owned by Mr. Donald Angus. Presumably Choris' study for his own published lithograph of Kamehameha in the "black cloak."



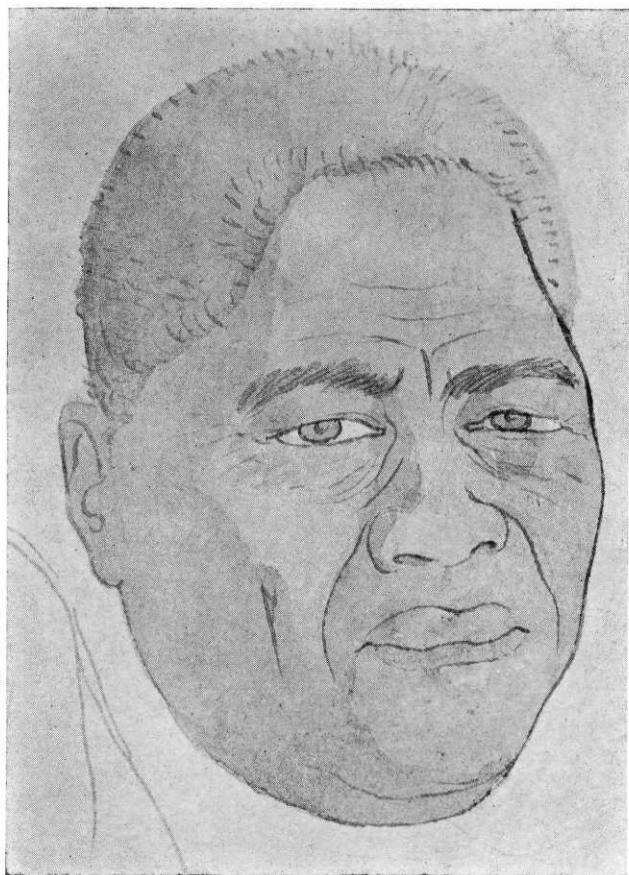
KAMEHAMEHA I

Lithograph by Marlet, apparently made from the same material that Choris used for his own lithograph of Kamehameha. This lithograph by Marlet appears only in the Carter Library copy of the "Voyage Pittoresque."



KAMEHAMEHA I

Drawn and lithographed by Ludwig Choris and published in his "Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde," Paris, 1822. This is the portrait of the "black cloak."



"CHEF DES ILES SANDWICH"

Small sketchbook drawing in pencil and water color by
Choris. From the collection of Mr. Donald Angus.

him, as he says, "the portrait of Tamaahmaah, which appeared to give him uncommon pleasure." This use of the definite article in Kotzebue's journal, in referring to *the* portrait, is surprising. Whether it indicates that the gift to Kareimoku was Choris' original, or a copy, must be left to surmise, for certainly either original or copy went to Europe to serve as an illustration of Kotzebue's book. This was the expedition's last visit to the islands.

A third account, relating to all these matters, is given by Adelbert von Chamisso, the naturalist of the expedition, in his *Voyage Round the World*. Chamisso's narrative supports Kotzebue's in every way, and supplies additional information of importance. Speaking of the first visit to Honolulu for refitting in 1816, he says, "The very resembling picture of Tameiameia painted by Choris had an outstanding success. All recognized it. All took pleasure in it. I shall not forget a circumstance significant perhaps of the customs of this people. The painter had in his sketchbook side by side with the king's picture the drawing of a woman of the middle class. Mr. Young, to whom this page was first shown, expressed his doubts of the propriety of such a combination. He advised our friend either to separate the two pictures or not to show them at all. Therefore the page was cut in two before the king was shown to other Hawaiians. Of this successful portrait, Choris distributed several copies here. When we arrived in Manila the following year"—that is, after the second visit to the Hawaiian Islands—"American merchants had come into possession of the picture and had had it duplicated in Chinese painting shops, for purposes of trade. Choris took a sample of these Chinese replicas along with him to Europe." Here is a great deal of information in small compass, every item being of the greatest interest. Evidently the portrait was very popular, and evidently Choris began to make copies of it immediately. It was no doubt such a copy, if not indeed the original, that the French artist Arago saw, as he asserted, in the hands of Kuakini, the governor of Hawaii, in 1819 at Kailua. And if Choris made a copy more to Kotzebue's liking than the original, there is no doubt but the explorer might have taken the copy to Europe for reproduction, and given the original itself to the chief Kareimoku. In fact, according to publication methods of the day, Kotzebue would have expected to use a more carefully elaborated replica,

from the sketchbook original, for illustration of his book.

Kotzebue's voyage ended in 1818, and in 1821 were published the earliest editions of his *Voyage of Discovery in the South Sea and to Behring's Straits*. The first of these was the German edition, in which appeared the Choris portrait, red waistcoat and all, engraved on copper by the German engraver Ermer. The English edition was translated from the German, and very likely the portrait shown, engraved by Clark, was in like fashion made from the German print. It is much the same, but less interesting. An abridged English edition, also of 1821, shows a still different, and poorer, engraving of the same subject. And in the following year, the Dutch edition appeared with a fourth engraving, by Veelwaard, still further removed in various ways from the authoritative German print. These portraits, in many copies, are hand colored, as are the other engraved illustrations of the book. We have copies of all these editions at hand, but even so, the way of the investigator is still involved in perplexity. Here in Honolulu, there are two copies of the German edition, one of them in the Bishop Museum, which, through some manipulation of dealer or publisher, contain, not the desired German engraving by Ermer which should be there, but the second rate and unsigned engraving from the abridged English edition. Still, in the large, the story is so far fairly clear.

At this point, however, we meet a serious stumbling-block, if we wish to know what Kamehameha really looked like. In 1822, in Paris, Choris published his own book, *Voyage Pittoresque autour du Monde*, an imposing work containing many large lithographs from the pictures he had brought back, along with a text written by himself. There are at least six copies of this book in Hawaii, one in the Carter Library at the Mission Children's Society, one in the Bishop Museum, two in the library of the Hawaiian Historical Society, one in the Wilcox Library on Kauai and one recently given by Mr. Walter F. Frear to the University of Hawaii, the last two being hand colored throughout. Of these six copies, oddly enough, though all have the same title page and date, hardly two are identical in make-up.

There are nineteen plates in the section devoted to Hawaii. For many of them, Choris himself was the lithographer; for others the names of other men are given. Most of the drawings, na-

turally, are the same in all copies, but there are three with which Choris apparently had trouble. For instance, one of the most successful, in its final form, is the well known portrait of Kaahumanu, sitting, with an attendant kahili bearer, lithograph by Norblin. In the Bishop Museum copy is a quite different drawing, also by Norblin, but reversed from left to right, and no more than a faint promise of the fine picture shown in the other five copies. Here we have an example of reproductive methods in 1822. Choris had done what he could in a hurried sketch, when Kotzebue was making his one day stop on Hawaii. The drawing was still to be lithographed, and if necessary improved upon, at home. The first effort was a failure; it was only on the second attempt, under Choris' direction no doubt, that the lithographer realized the full possibilities of a striking composition. So also, there are two different versions of a dance of Hawaiian women; one, a weak drawing lithographed by Choris, appears in four of our six copies of the book; in two copies, it was turned into a spirited and effective picture, not too convincing in all ethnological details, by another lithographer named Franquelin. In passing, we note that there was economy in the publishing technique. The unsuccessful plates were not wasted, but judiciously distributed here and there, care being taken, merely, that all the discards should not appear together in any one copy of the book.

The portrait of Kamehameha, which Choris wished to include in the book, seems also to have given trouble. He had for material, presumably, a water color, which must be redrawn as a lithograph. He had been horrified, from the first, by the king's European costume. He had felt that the much talked of Hawaiian king should appear in Hawaiian dress. He still balked at the red waistcoat, and in his own book undertook to be rid of it, substituting what he calls the king's "manteau noir," or black cloak. In the Carter Library copy of the *Voyage*, there is a rather uninteresting drawing, reminiscent in pose of the engravings that we already know, but with an undecided drapery, of a more or less Hawaiian sort, thrown about the shoulders. The lithograph is by Marlet, and is hopefully described as "drawn from life by Choris." But it was not, I believe. Even Choris hardly sponsors this drawing. The plate is not numbered in sequence like the others, and the style of the title is different. The presence of

this drawing in the Carter Library copy is mysterious. Whether it is a substitution analogous to those mentioned above, or whether its presence is due to some less obvious manipulation remains problematic.

In five of our six copies of the book, at any rate, a different portrait appears, showing the "black cloak," and lithographed by Choris himself. At first glance, this drawing seems so different from the Kotzebue engravings as almost to represent a different man, but on examination it is the same head after all. It is reversed from left to right in the lithographic print, but the pose, the lighting and the general structure are the same. It is the expression, the look of the man, that has been changed. The forms are rounder, but lacking in precision; the head is somewhat Polynesian in appearance, but, to an artist, obviously cooked up in the studio. The neck is poorly drawn, and the garment about the shoulders is very unconvincing. The phrase "drawn from life" does not appear. By his own account, printed in this same *Voyage Pittoresque*, Choris had no opportunity to make such a drawing with the king posing before him. It is very doubtful that he ever saw Kamehameha otherwise than in European costume, or, on the second visit, in his malo. The lithograph is surely Choris' final attempt, with the aid of his memory, to retrieve his first idea of what Hawaiian royalty should wear.

We have now, however, additional material relating to this drawing. Since the preceding paragraphs were first written, the Honolulu Academy of Arts has exhibited (April 24 to May 9, 1937) the Donald Angus collection of Choris sketchbook notations mentioned at the beginning of this article. This collection is very interesting, and has every appearance of being just what Mr. Angus believes it to be, a series of Choris originals. It includes a small water color of Kamehameha which is doubtless a study from which the Choris lithograph was made. It is somewhat rough and shows a small portion of the "black cloak" about the throat. Much of the reasoning, however, which applies to the lithograph, must also apply to the water color. The accounts of both Kotzebue and Choris himself are so circumstantial as to the insistence of the king on being painted in the red waistcoat that we can not regard this water color as being Choris' "original," made from life. It must have been, rather, a subsequent redraw-

ing, adapted to show the king more as Choris wished him to appear, without the red vest. It is different from the lithograph in that it is very much better. It is better drawn, there is more character in the face and it has some of the "savage" appearance that so impressed Captains King and Vancouver when Kamehameha was a young man. It is also much more recognizable as the same head that is shown in the Kotzebue engravings. It may be accepted as Choris' revision from his original drawing, made on shipboard very likely, between the two visits to Hawaii, and later serving as material for both the Marlet and the Choris lithographs. With this lively water color at hand, the two lithographs themselves become relatively less important to our study.

Among the drawings of this Angus collection, there is also a small head in pencil and water color which is strangely reminiscent of the portraits we are discussing. It is very slight, showing no garment, nor even any neck. The head is meagerly developed in specific portrait character, and is pushed to no real completion. In a notation on the cardboard mount it is labeled "Chef des iles Sandwich," which means little more than "Hawaiian chief." If the handwriting is really Choris', as Mr. Angus believes, and if the head is Kamehameha's, the description is curiously non-committal. Still the pose and contour of the head, and certain details of the face, particularly the mouth, are the same as in the portraits we know. It could not be Choris' "original," made when the king was posing, for reasons already suggested. It is practically essential that the red vest should appear for such identification, and neither the Kotzebue engravings nor the lithographs could derive from this drawing alone. If it represents Kamehameha, as it seems to do, it is simply another of Choris' attempts to restudy his material, but abandoned as unsatisfactory and in unfinished condition. In view of its ambiguous qualifications, it need not detain us unduly.

So far, in referring to Choris' portrait of Kamehameha in the red waistcoat, I have been content to mean, in a general way, the painting represented in the engravings of Kotzebue's *Voyage*. There are, however, two paintings showing the red vest, for which claims of originality have been advanced; the oil in the Boston Athenaeum, and Mr. Bruce Cartwright's water color, now on loan in the Honolulu Academy of Arts.

For many years, in an easy-going fashion, the Boston portrait was rated as Choris' original. In 1843, for instance, James J. Jarves so described it, when he used it as the basis of an engraved frontispiece in his *History of the Hawaiian Islands*. In later years, however, doubts arose. In the 34th Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society, 1925, there is a note by Stephen W. Phillips, who interested himself in the picture. He describes it as a small oil on canvas, remounted and reframed, to which, however, is attached the original stretcher with two old inscriptions in ink. One reads, "Tamehameha or Kamehameha I;" the other, "Presented to the Boston Athenaeum by John C. Jones, Jr., June 14, 1818." Mr. Phillips states that John C. Jones was a resident of Honolulu, and afterward U. S. Consul there. For various reasons, the picture could not be Choris' "original." Mr. Phillips believed it to be a replica painted by Choris in Honolulu and given to Mr. Jones.

It is the portrait that we know, of course, with the red waistcoat. It is an oil, and in photographic reproduction, a very poor one. In all the illustrations of either Kotzebue's *Voyage*, or Choris' own *Voyage Pittoresque*, the technique indicated is either pencil or water color, with no appearance of the artist having used oil colors at any time. Kotzebue himself, it will be remembered, twice specifically refers to the portrait of the king as being "on paper." Furthermore, the Boston head seems very clumsily drawn, in comparison with all of Choris' published work. While it is not, strictly speaking, impossible that Choris should have made a hasty oil version of his portrait before leaving the islands, it is easier for me to regard the picture as a copy by some less experienced practitioner. We know from Chamisso that the American merchants immediately discovered the trade value of copies; no doubt they were made in various ways, and in varying degrees of excellence. The Boston picture should be such a one.

The Cartwright water color, on the other hand, presents a very different problem. It is well painted, and is precise and effective in drawing. It is unsigned, but below it is written a Russian title which, translated, means, "Tammeamea, King of the Sandwich Islands." It is painted on paper which is clearly water-marked "J. Whatman 1813," on one of the best water color papers, that is, of either that or the present time, and of just the

right date for Choris to have taken it with him when the expedition sailed in 1815. Mr. Cartwright purchased the painting from the English dealer, Francis Edwards, and other paintings from the same set are in the possession of Mr. Harry G. Beasely, the well known English collector and student of Polynesian material, who believes them to be authentic Choris originals. Mr. Cartwright's water color, in every detail, is obviously the portrait of the Kotzebue illustrations, being, however, in point of robust and expressive draughtsmanship, far superior to the engraving of the German edition, which in turn is superior to the English and Dutch prints. It can not be too strongly emphasized that the water color and the German engraving, outside of the superiority of the former, are practically identical in the line for line sense, in the drawing of the features, the hair, the wrinkles of the skin, the sleeves and vest, and even in the way the bust is cut off at the bottom.

Nevertheless, we can not consider this water color to be the painting that Choris made when the king was posing before him, unless we disregard Chamisso's statement that the sketchbook original appeared on the same page with a picture of a middle class woman, and that Choris cut the page in two to satisfy objections to the unseemly combination. The size and arrangement of the Cartwright water color make it certain that it was never cut in that way, and that it never had a companion drawing on the same sheet. Furthermore, it is too precise to be Choris' sketchbook original. It is no doubt Choris' official replica, from his own original, for publication.

We must ask ourselves again just what we demand of our portrait of Kamehameha. We know that Choris made a painting which seemed an excellent likeness to the Europeans who saw it, and which achieved immediate popularity among the Hawaiians. The best documented representation of this portrait seems to be the Ermer engraving in Kotzebue's German edition of his *Voyage*. If we are looking for the sketchbook original on the half page that remained after the removal of the Hawaiian woman, it can only be said that while that original may still come to light, it has not yet been identified. If we are looking for Choris' own effort to be rid of the waistcoat, we have it, I think, in the Angus water color. If we are looking for a painting which shall be identical with the German engraving, but at the same time finer than any-

thing the engraver could accomplish, the Cartwright water color fulfills the specifications exactly. I believe that Kotzebue did literally give the sketchbook original to Kareimoku, as he said, and that in Mr. Cartwright's painting we have Choris' replica, which Kotzebue took home to Europe for reproduction in his *Voyage of Discovery*. Omitting consideration of the ambiguous and unfinished "Chef des iles Sandwich" in the Angus collection, we have before us, apparently, three portraits, unquestionably of Kamehameha, from Choris' own hand. The Choris lithograph, though it came last, is noticeably the least interesting. What I have called the Angus water color is Choris' own personal revision, emphasizing the barbaric quality of the king. The Cartwright painting is the official portrait, Kotzebue's more formal choice for use in his book.

We may wish, as Choris did, that he had been allowed to paint the king directly from life in Hawaiian costume. We may even wish, I suppose, that the Angus and Cartwright portraits showed a younger and handsomer face, though with no very good reason. Neither head, once seen, is easily forgotten. The much wrinkled skin, apparent in both pictures, is not only a natural feature of advanced age, but may be taken as direct evidence of the life-long facial habits of the young chief who scowled at Captain King, and of the older monarch who made faces at Choris while he was being painted. Either portrait offers more satisfaction to the imagination than could be got from any stock idealization. Here in Hawaii, when a portrait of Kamehameha is needed, for reproduction or for artistic re-interpretation, it seems fair to say that these two water colors should have a wider currency, as our nearest approach, between them, to the true likeness of the great king.

THE "CAROLINE" AND THE "HANCOCK" AT HAWAII IN 1799

By Judge F. W. Howay

Miss Bernice Judd in her *Voyages to Hawaii before 1860*, gives only one vessel, the *Caroline*, for 1799. In that year eight vessels at least were engaged in the maritime trade on the Northwest Coast. Of them three are known to have been at the Hawaiian Islands in 1799: the *Eliza* in January; the *Caroline* in July; and the *Hancock* in October. In the 42nd *Annual Report* of this Society I sketched that visit of the *Eliza* and gave the account as set out in her log. It is possible, even probable, that the *Eliza*, *Despatch*, *Dove*, *Cheerful*, and *Ulysses* were at "the islands" late in the year *en route* to China; but further research must be made before anything definite is known. But as nothing could be obtained on the Northwest Coast except furs and spars almost every vessel, even those that came from China, called at "the islands" for food and supplies.

In mentioning the *Caroline* Miss Judd refers to the two printed Cleveland volumes. Recently I obtained Captain Richard J. Cleveland's manuscript log of that cutter; in it the account is not so full as that given in his *Voyages and Commercial Enterprises of the Sons of New England*; and I have also a copy of the log of the *Hancock*. I propose to give the record of the visits of these two vessels as it is found in their logs, not because they contain any statements of great value, but because they are the original documents. Both vessels came for refreshments and made but short stays; and it will be noted that each left a sailor as a resident of Hawaii.

The "Caroline"

The *Caroline* was a cutter of about fifty tons; she was of British registry. Her real name was the *Dragon*. But when Captain Cleveland bought her he changed her name. As he says: "She was called the *Dragon*; but as my papers were for the *Caroline* [a cutter he had formerly owned] I changed her name

accordingly." Though she is frequently called an American vessel, Cleveland had no doubts; he knew that the purchase of a British vessel by an American could not in itself change her nationality. The practice in such matters in the Orient appears, then, to have been quite loose and unsettled. She was, as he says, "a foreign bottom." Leaving China in January 1799, with an ill assorted crew of twenty-one men, Cleveland, owing to a mutiny on board, left six men on the island of Kemoy, three hundred and fifty miles from Canton. With his diminished crew he reached Sitka, Alaska, on 30th March. He traded principally in southern Alaskan waters. When the *Hancock* met him on 1st June at Sitka he had 1700 skins on board. He left the coast on 29th June, having in three months collected a cargo of more than 2000 sea-otter skins. And now let us take the words of the log.

Thursday, 18th July, 1799: A very fresh trade all these 24 hours, varying from E b S to E by N, and exceedingly pleasant weather: under our square sail, main sail, and topsail all the time, and making rapid advances toward Owwhyhee, which Island we expect to see tomorrow & in consequence, overhaul'd and loaded our muskets & Pistolls.

Friday, 19th July, 1799: All these 24 hours we have a very fresh trade wind and clear weather. At 3 P.M., saw Owwhyhee, the eastern point bearing S W by W., distant 20 leagues; at dawning we were about $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile from the shore, & near a village, whose inhabitants we saw mustering to come off to us. We therefore lay bye for them, under double reef'd mainsail & third jib: We soon had several canoes off, but they brought nothing but a few mellons & Cabbages, & it was so rough that it was with difficulty we took those on board: they told us the hogs were tabooed, or prohibited, at that part of the Island, we therefore run down towards Toeyahyah bay.¹

Saturday 20th: A very fine trade wind as yesterday: $\frac{1}{2}$ past 3 P.M. we doubled Kohollo point² & soon came into smooth water, when we had a number of canoes off with hogs, Potatoes, Cabbages, taro, water & Musk melons, sugar cane &c; we let one chief come on board & he kept his men in order; as we lay off and on abreast the village all night he slept on board; early in the morning we had a great number of Canoes along side, & by 9 A.M., we had a sufficient supply of hogs & as great a quantity of vegetables as we could make use of before they spoil'd; we then bore away with intention of pushing directly for China. I gave Jno. Ridley (seaman) his discharge here & a note for the balance of his account.

Sunday 21st: Fresh gales from the N.E. all the 24 hours: we are under single reef'd M'sail, F. sail, 3d jib, & the topsail on the cap, which is as much sail as the vessel will bear, steering W.S.W. all the 24 hours. At 2 p.m. the Island Mowee bore N. b E. 12 leagues distant, from which I take my departure, it being in Latd 20.48 N. & Long'd 203.45 E.

On 8th September the Bashee Islands were sighted; and on 15th the *Caroline* was at Whampoa. There Captain Cleveland

¹ Kawaihae Bay.

² Upolu Point.

disposed of his sea-otter skins at \$26.00 each; and he sold the *Caroline* to an Englishman who merely hoisted British colours and she became again the *Dragon*.

The "Hancock"

The *Hancock*, a ship of Boston, owned by Dorr & Sons, with a crew of twenty-four men under Captain Crocker, sailed from her home port on August 25, 1798, on a voyage to the Northwest Coast and China. A slow-sailing vessel and leaky from the start, she occupied nearly seven months on the passage, even though she made but one stop and that only for a day. That one stop was a matter of necessity; scurvy had made its appearance. The story is briefly told in the log. On January 20, 1799, the high land of Masafuero appeared above the horizon, and "Our sick man being worse with the scurvy and 2 or 3 more on board having strong symptoms of the disorder the Capt., concluded to stop at the island and bury them a while. . . . We lowered down the boat and with the 3d mate, 4 of the people most affected and myself [i.e. the keeper of the log, the first mate,] went on shore where we found a good soil to bury the people in." The next day the log merely says: "took our sick ones in and came on board."³

Arriving at Meares Bay, probably the present Cordova Bay, in southern Alaska, on April 15, 1799, the *Hancock* spent the summer in trading along the eastern coast of Queen Charlotte Island and northward as far as Yukatat Bay. In May when she was at Sitka a mutiny broke out which called for quick and energetic action on the part of the captain. As one of the principal mutineers later became a resident of Hawaii the story will be told somewhat in detail. The log contains nothing that might offer the slightest hint as to its cause. There is no entry of any punishments nor of any complaints. But on 2nd May, after the *Hancock* had been anchored near Sitka for about a week, the crew, in the captain's absence, swarmed up from the forecastle and declared that they deposed him and placed the first mate in command. That officer at once summoned the captain from the shore. On learning the situation Captain Crocker at once ordered the mutineers ashore, and thirteen men left the ship. After five days four of them sent a message saying that they wished to return; they were accord-

³Burying the afflicted person partly in the ground was at that time regarded as a cure for scurvy.

ingly reinstated. In the remaining nine was a man who later was left at Hawaii: the ship's carpenter, Edward Baker. He showed no signs of repentance until the *Hancock* was about to depart. Baker and a fellow mutineer seeing that she was preparing to sail paddled out to ship and begged to be taken aboard. The captain refused and threatened to turn the big guns upon them. As the *Hancock* slowly made her way out of the harbour the two men kept as close as they dared, calling out that the Indians had been very quarrelsome and they feared for their lives. Still the captain was abdurate. And so the *Hancock* kept her course, followed by the repentant mutineers. The breeze freshened; the ship's speed increased; but Baker and his associate paddling for dear life kept close behind, constantly crying out that unless allowed on the ship they would surely be murdered. Presently a number of canoes were seen paddling in great haste in pursuit of the fugitives. Finally, with the consent of the crew, Captain Crocker permitted Baker and his companion to come on board and re-enter service.

On 10th September, after five months trading, and having collected more than 1000 sea-otter skins and 60 cutsarks,⁴ the *Hancock* sailed homeward by way of the Hawaiian Islands and China. The voyage to Hawaii occupied twenty-seven days. The *Caroline*, as has been seen made it in twenty days; and both vessels sailed from practically the same point on the coast. The usual length of time between the coast and "the islands" was three weeks. The pertinent part of the *Hancock's* log follows:

Saturday, 5th October, 1799. The first part moderate trade and good weather. The middle part, ditto. At Daylight the Island of Owyhee was seen, the extremes of which bore from W b S $\frac{1}{2}$ S to South, Distance to the nearest part, about 10 or 12 Leagues. At Meridian the Extremes of Owyhee bore from W $\frac{1}{2}$ S to S E $\frac{1}{2}$ E, Distance to the nearest Shore 5 leagues. Latt'de Observed, 20.08 North.

Sunday, 6th October, 1799. The first part these 24 hours heavy rain; run in for the land; about the weather part of the Island several canoes came off & sold us some fruit & vegetables for old Iron. Lay off and on all night with heavy rain. At Sunset Saw the Island of Mowie bearing W by N $\frac{1}{2}$ N. At 10 Leagues Distance, this West Extremity of Owyhee West 5 or 6 Leagues. At daylight bore up and run down for Tocaigh Bay,⁵ between Mowee & the West part of Owyhee where we arrived at noon and was Visited by the Chief and 2 White men.

Monday, 7th October. The first part fresh breezes from S S W and good weather. The King and his suit on board; beat into the

⁴ This was a sort of robe, usually made of three sea-otter skins; two sewed together lengthwise and the other at the bottom of those two, crosswise.

Bay. At 4 P.M. came too with the stream in 10 fathoms water in Too-ga-ya Bay⁵, about 3 miles off shore. The King promised the Capt to supply us with Hogs, Potatoes & other Vegetables on the Morrow. The latter part calm weather. Bought 30 Hogs & some Vegetables.

Tuesday 8th. The first part begins moderate good weather. The King and several other Chiefs On board. At Sunset we had on board as many Hogs and Vegetables as we wanted; we took in as many as to make 50 Hogs in all. & then would buy no more altho' many along side; fired a Gun by the King's Orders & the Canoes went onshore as did the King and his suit. Ebenezer Baker a man that was sick and had been off Duty for some time wanted to go ashore as he did by the Capt's Permission. Took a man on board to work his Passage from this to China, by the name of Thomas Appleton. At 10 P.M. weighed & came to sail with a moderate breeze of the land, having onboard a Mr. Young and a Mr. Holmes⁶ who Assisted us in getting our Supplies very much, to see us safe out of the Bay. At 11 P.M. they left us. The latter part moderate Breezes and good weather. At Meridian took the Trade wind, then the highest part of Owyee bore East about 9 leagues off shore. No Observation to-day.

Wednesday, 9th October. These 24 hours fresh Trade and good weather; Unbent the Cables and Stowed them away. Took down the Boarding Nettings. At 6 P.M. Owyhee bore E b N. Distance about 14 Leagues. The latter part good weather. Killed 4 Hogs and salted them down. So ends this 24 hours. Latt'de by Obs'n 19.54 N.

From the time that Owhyhee (Hawaii) sank below the horizon no land was seen until 15th November when the Bashee Islands were sighted. On the 18th the *Hancock* was at Macao; and on the 24th she was at Whampoa, the anchoring place for foreign ships visiting Canton; and we follow her no farther on her homeward journey.

⁵ Kawaihae Bay.

⁶ Oliver Holmes, who was given his discharge from the ship *Margaret* of Boston at Oahu, on Oct. 6, 1793, by her captain, James Magee.

DUNE SEPULTURE, BATTLE MORTALITY, AND KAMEHAMEHA'S ALLEGED DEFEAT ON KAUAI¹

By John F. G. Stokes

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Introduction

Under the sub-title "a hitherto hidden chapter of Hawaiian history," a somewhat amazing story [15]² was published in the *Hawaiian Annual* for 1914. It is to the effect that Kamehameha's army landed at Kauai in 1796 and was disastrously defeated on the Koloa sand dunes by the local forces under King Kaumualii, with the loss of 4000 slain, 543 prisoners, and half the canoes. Furthermore, the historically accepted account, that shortly after leaving Oahu the invading fleet returned on account of a storm, is said to have been an invention by Kamehameha's warriors told and maintained in order to hide their ignominious defeat.

The origin of the Kauai story is attributed to a native who said he had guarded the prisoners in 1796. He related it in 1854 and again in 1893. As proof of the account, he referred to the many skeletons exposed on the Mahaulepu sand dunes, described as "more than a man would care to count in a day" and claimed that they were the unburied remains of the Hawaii warriors.

In some quarters, the story failed of acceptance. Rev. J. M. Lydgate, president of the Kauai Historical Society, destructively criticized it, and questioned its authenticity [16]. The points he made are most convincing. However, his contribution did not

¹ Grateful acknowledgment is made of Mr. A. F. Knudsen's examination of the first draft of this article, and his comments thereon. The final draft was not ready until after his departure from the islands.

² For bracketed figures, see references at end of article.

reach publication until 1928, and therefore failed somewhat as a corrective influence when the matter of timeliness was important. On this account the "hidden chapter" had several years free range to become established.

Since the preparation of Lydgate's paper, copies of some early manuscript journals have reached Honolulu containing information which, together with other data brought to light meanwhile, confirm him in his contentions and brand the "hidden chapter" as neo-mythic. Such will be included in the present paper as supplemental to that by Lydgate, to which the reader is referred.

The subject is closely connected with a common fallacy that the many human skeletons found on the sand dunes of these islands are necessarily those of warriors slain in battle—in other words, that such sand dunes must be battle sites. It is connected particularly with the local tendency towards the neo-mythic, in place of Hawaiian history, and with the proneness to exaggeration in supposed authoritative historical publications.

The Koloa sand dunes extend along the coast from the south point of Kauai for about three miles to the north-east, fronting the land sections of Weliweli, Paa, and Mahaulepu. The middle part is indurated, but the dunes to the north-east and south-west are loose and shift with the wind. They are uninhabited and almost bare of vegetation. In places, particularly the hollows, the surfaces are, or rather were carpeted with human bones in many stages of disintegration, but mostly in fragments. In addition, many skeletons have been found buried vertically in the bundled or flexed position, one of the recognized methods of Hawaiian sepulture.

The "hidden chapter" places the site of the skeletal accumulations as on the Mahaulepu dunes, but Lydgate, with his intimate knowledge of the country, states that undoubtedly the site intended was Keonelo, in Paa, near the boundary of Weliweli, because there the skeletons were much more numerous. It is doubtful if the native narrator made a distinction, and the locality will be generalized as the "Koloa dunes" except where specification is necessary.

The present paper was suggested by the visit of tourist friends to Kauai in 1935. They were taken by their guide to the Koloa

dunes to view an "old Hawaiian battle ground." However, they really needed no guide to identify the site because, scattered among the skeletal fragments were such gigantic-appearing leg bones as could have belonged to none but warriors who had been killed in battle! Later, in Honolulu, a doubt, incautiously expressed by the writer on the identification as a battle site, was put to shame by reference to the Kauai map of 1927 [12]. There it was clearly so marked, as well as in the edition of 1936.

Thus, the aged raconteur's story being in part confirmed by such modern authorities on Hawaiian history as a taxi-driver and a tourist, the evidence should be conclusive. And well it might be but for the contrary indications in the early journals and publications and studies of native culture, which identify the sites as ancient cemeteries. Such is sufficient to account for the presence of the skeletal material on the dunes, which presence alone, so far, has been put forward as *proving* either spot to have been a battle ground.

Illustrative of the growth of neo-myth, possibly, may be the following incident. Having visited the Keonelo dunes in company with local Hawaiians several times prior to 1916, the writer gleaned no information other than that the skeletons present were exposed burials. On a visit in September, 1936, a Hawaiian fisherman, in courtesy to the stranger, came forward and kindly volunteered the information that the skeletons marked a battle site. Obviously the "hidden chapter" had spread under tourist demand.

Dune Cemeteries

In 1826, Rev. Samuel Whitney traveled over the Koloa dunes on his tour around Kauai, in company of the governor and over a hundred natives. Leaving Koloa, they made their first stop at Mahaulepu, and Whitney noted [18]:

We passed over a mound of sand, white with human bones. I asked whether they were slain in battle; and was informed that this was the place for burying the dead, and that the wind had blown the sand away from the bones. "But why," said I, "is this ground chosen?" "Because it is soft and the people are lazy," was the reply.

Thus to the *kamaaina* in 1826, the bones exposed to sight marked the local cemetery, and not a battle ground.

However, this important record must be ignored for the moment because the governor was a chief from Hawaii, and the

dominant Hawaii warriors concealed the facts, according to the Kauai neo-myth.

Dune sepulture occurred in many parts of Polynesia. In the Hawaiian Islands it was one of the regular mortuary practices, and sites of such cemeteries are known in practically all the islands. They are generally remote from sites of ancient habitations. Skeletons observed in place include those of the young, adult, and aged of both sexes, all placed vertically in the "knee-to-face" or flexed position ascribed by Ellis to the commoner class in their burial customs. This authority [10, p. 362] learned in 1823 that, soon after death,

they raised the upper part of the body, bent the face forwards to the knees, the hands were next put under the hams, and passed up between the knees, when the head, hands, and knees were bound together with cinet or cord. The body was afterwards wrapped in a course mat, and buried . . .

As noted by Malo [17, p. 132], a compact bundle resulted from this operation.

Not to digress too greatly, the method of carrying the bundle suspended from a pole between two bearers, may have stamped on the modern Hawaiian language the term *hoolewa* for the funeral service and procession. As Andrews points out in his dictionary, the root *lewa* means "to swing" and, with its causative *hoo*, "to hang pendulous," "to carry as between two persons," "the act of bearing a corpse at a funeral procession," and finally the procession itself.

However, in ancient days, the procession was omitted at funerals, which were attended by the smallest number possible. Interments took place secretly and at night [10, p. 363; 17, p. 132], and fear of the spirits was great. Those carrying a corpse past a habitation would be abused or even stoned for not taking it by some other route, because of the belief that the spirit would follow back along the path traveled. A cemetery, according to Ellis' informants [10, p. 362] was an evil place, "filled with dead bodies", and to be avoided. A dead body was a thing of defilement, and after the interment, the undertakers underwent a purification ceremony [17, p. 132].

The dune burials, when found apparently unaffected by sand shifting, are but a few inches below the surface. Ellis described them as simple pits which were not deep. No doubt the environ-

ment and fear of ghosts made speed of operation desirable, and a hole just deep enough to conceal the compact bundle was scraped in the loose sand with the hands.

Thus on the basis of ancient beliefs, sand dunes being generally remote from habitations were suitable for cemeteries. On the practical side, they were worthless for agriculture and, as Missionary Whitney was told, soft to dig into.

When not bound by vegetation, the sand may be shifted by high winds, making some burials deeper and exposing others. Once uncovered the bones generally remain on the surface owing to the sifting effect of the wind, which also scatters them. Further wind movements reveal other skeletons, and so they accumulate in sight. But they soon disintegrate on continued exposure to the sun, rain, and dew, and a reasonable estimate for the complete reduction of an exposed skeleton on these dunes would be less than thirty years.

However, in the lime sand and away from roots, the bones will last much longer—depending on the amount of moisture present. An interesting contrast may be observed when the bones are partly exposed. That below the surface in the sand may be in perfect condition, and the uncovered portion disintegrated. These partial exposures seem to be the effect of rain, rather than wind, and the rain may at times cause some reburials.

Cemeteries as Battle Sites

The identification of the dune cemeteries as battle sites seems natural enough to the stranger, viewing the many scattered bones and concentrating on a few of extraordinary size to be found here and there. That is the trouble, the large bones hold the attention, to the neglect of the more numerous small bones also present, so that the picture becomes warped.

In any case, the larger bones, as of mature individuals, would disintegrate more slowly than those of the immature. In addition, our investigating visitor may have forgotten that the Hawaiian people have been described as of large physique.

However, he may well have been right in identifying the bones he examined as those of warriors, because all Hawaiians of early days were such. But he gave little thought to the probability that 95 percent of the warriors died natural deaths in their beds (or

rather on their mats) as in other countries, and is content to believe that the bones he handles today (probably exposed for less than a decade) constitute an unburied record of a battle one or two hundred years ago.

In confirmation of the Mahaulepu dunes as a battle site, the writer's attention was called in 1936 to the finding of twelve skeletons when sand was being dug for the Koloa Plantation. It was said that the skulls of all were crushed. The argument is a poor one. In Hawaiian warfare the javelin or hurled spear was the principal weapon, implying torso wounds, and a group of twelve skeletons found as described would represent executions rather than evidence of battle.

Of course, such reports mean little without proper examination of the material. Skulls have been observed on the dunes with the crown or exposed portion completely disintegrated and the lower part, still in sand, in excellent condition. Such is due to weathering.

To claim that dunes or even dune cemeteries were never the sites of battles would be far from the writer's intention. Generally bordering the shore, they would seem to be the natural meeting grounds of invaders and defenders. However, the identification should depend on more than the mere presence of bones.

Traditions of great battles on the dunes have been handed down. Two at Kakanilua on Maui are referred to below. Another was on the shore of Kawela, on Molokai, where Fornander [11, p. 138] assumes to have seen, among the shifting sands, the bones of "thousands." As shown in the notes below, the numbers Fornander reports indicate less a battle site than a cemetery.

Sites of Slaughter

In Hawaiian warfare, massed conflicts were rare. Battles were generally series of skirmishes—so stated by Ellis [10, p. 144] and indicated by the few descriptions available. The movements of the combatants and the area of slaughter, therefore, were wide spread. A battle generally ended in flight, which might be preparatory to a rally, or become a complete panic and surrender of the field. The flight, however, was the time for the heaviest slaughter. Were it to continue to a panic, the slaughter was carried to the non-combatants, who hid or fled to the mountains. The

extermination continued while the blood lust lasted, or until the victorious chief proclaimed an amnesty. The bodies of the slain, both combatant and non-combatant, were thus scattered in many directions. They lay where they fell. Non-combatants and those killed in flight remained unburied [9, p. 173; 10, p. 146]. Stones were sometimes heaped over those killed in battle [cf. 10, p. 108, 132, 146]. While Ellis also states that the victors buried their own dead, friends and relatives were not always so treated, as when Keoua lost a third of his army through volcanic activity [cf. 9, p. 53].

From the foregoing group of references it is evident that when skeletons of aged people or children are found buried, as in the Koloa sand dunes, they are not necessarily of those killed in war, for such remained unburied. Inferentially then, they and the other interments with them were of people who died naturally. The presence of adult female skeletons is of itself no indication, one way or another, because women frequently accompanied their male relatives in battle [13, p. 219].

The picture of widely scattered bodies after a battle, conveyed by the references, contrasts strongly with the accounts of massed skeletons seen on the sand dunes, namely the "thousands" seen by Fornander on Molokai, and for Koloa, the sand "white with human bones" according to Whitney, and "more than a man would care to count in a day," as reported in the "hidden chapter." This mere reference to quantity is a general denial of the identification as a battle site, because in battle the mortality was slight, especially before the introduction of firearms. For the clarification of this point, some figures are available.

Battle Mortality

The Kauai neo-myth of the battle of Mahaulepu places the loss of the invaders as 4000 slain on the spot and 543 captured, and later killed in sacrifice. These figures may be contrasted with the counts of losses in actual battles recorded nearer the time of the events.

On February 28, 1779, Kaneoneo, king of Kauai, was overthrown in battle and driven to the mountains by Queen Kama-halei and her son Keawe, assisted by the Maui chief Kao. Kaneoneo left dead on the field 3 chiefs and 23 men, according

to the victors, who claimed to have lost only one man. In other words, this battle by which a king was dethroned cost a total of only 27 lives. The account was communicated to Captain Clerke [7] and recorded only four days after the event, so that but little time had elapsed to allow for growth through exaggeration.

Firearms were used in the later conflicts recorded. In 1790 Kamehameha made his first conquest of Maui, having with him cannon and muskets, together with foreigners to handle them. The actual figures of the dead are not available, but in the second and decisive action the slaughter is described as so great that the corpses dammed the Iao stream [13, p. 141]. The battle therefore was named "Kepaniwai" (the dam). It must be admitted, however, that unless the Iao were in flood (in which case the battle would have been fought elsewhere) a hundred corpses or less would make a very effective dam for that small stream. The theme, "damming of the stream with corpses" has been used elsewhere in Hawaiian figurative accounts [cf. 11, pp. 90, 226].

In 1819, two decisive battle were fought on Hawaii in the rebellions against Kamehameha II, who had cast aside the ancient worship. Jarves [13, p. 219] gives the total number killed as 10 loyalists and 50 rebels.

On Kauai, in 1824, the Humehume rebellion brought about two actions, namely the attempt to capture Waimea fort, and the decisive engagement at Hanapepe. Jarves and Bingham use different figures:

	Waimea		Hanapepe		Total
	Loyalists	Rebels	Loyalists	Rebels	
Jarves [13, pp. 245-6]	6	11	1	130	148
Bingham [3, pp. 234-5, 239]	4?	?	?	40 or 50	?

Dibble [9, p. 172] points out that, in the principal battle, the rebels fled without resistance after failure to use their cannon effectively, and lost no lives until after the panic. Also he observed: The unarmed, the aged, women and little children were slain indiscriminately. The fugitives were dragged from their lurking places and deliberately shot or beaten to death in cold blood. This work of destruction continued for many days. The bodies of the slain were left unburied to be devoured by dogs and swine.

Obviously, Jarves' figure of 130 included the non-combatants.

Exaggerations

Time and exaggeration frequently go hand in hand in accounts of battles or disasters. For instance, about 1790, Keoua's army

on the march lost one of its three divisions due to a volcanic outburst. The warriors were accompanied by their families. Note the accretions:

In 1823, Ellis [10, p. 199], in the vicinity,	
noted the loss of life as about	80 "warriors"
In 1843, Jarves [13, p. 146] published it as	400 "human beings"
In 1880, Fornandar [11, p. 326] made it	400 "fighting men"
On such extensions, the next should be	2000 <i>human beings</i>

Kamehameha overran Maui and Molokai, and invaded Oahu in 1795. In Nuuanu valley he signally defeated its defenders, who fled in three directions. According to Jarves, "some were driven headlong over" Nuuanu precipice or The Pali. Nuuanu battle is considered the greatest in Hawaiian history because all opposition to Kamehameha by the Maui and Oahu interests was crushed at one blow. Observe the exaggeration, in losses of the vanquished as time passed:

	Defenders' losses	
	All told	At Pali alone
In 1796, Broughton [6, p. 41] learned that the defenders of Oahu lost.....	300	
(The figure has some contemporary confirmation from next reference)		
In 1796 also, Bishop [4] learned from the white soldiers that "not less than 500 of the enemy fell" and not more than 20 of their own on Maui, Molokai and Oahu.....	500	
In 1823, Ellis [10, p. 16] was informed that 400 had been driven over The Pali		400
In 1854, Bates [2, p. 92] gave it as.....		3,000
By 1914 [15, p. 140] The Pali loss became		10,000

Later and greater figures may be obtained at The Pali itself in the descriptions furnished the tourists. However, enough has been given to show how, through retelling, the part may become greater than the whole.

As opposed to the conclusion that battle mortality in Hawaii was slight, the account given by Fornander [11, p. 153] may be mentioned. During an invasion of Maui by Kalaniopuu of Hawaii,

a dash is said to have been made for the capital by a regiment named Alapa, representing the cream of Kalaniopuu's army. It was ambushed at Kakanilua in the sand hills near Wailuku:

After one of the most sanguinary battles recorded in Hawaiian legends, and deeds of valour that await but another Tennyson, the gallant and devoted Alapa were literally annihilated; only two out of the eight hundred escaped alive to tell Kalaniopuu of this Hawaiian Balaclava . . .

Next day the whole of the Hawaii army moved forward and was defeated in another sanguinary battle.

Fornander's account is taken from Kamakau [14, Dek. 15, 1866] who gives the number of the Alapa as *elua lau*, "two four-hundreds." That the occurrences were as described may be doubted. The account did not appear until 1866. It escaped Jarves and Bingham, and probably also Dibble who in 1836 and later made detailed enquiries on *Mau* itself regarding ancient history. He states [9, p. 40]: "I have in my possession a record of the wars that resulted in these changes, but to burden history with a minute account of battles and conquests would be unprofitable. . . . It does not appear that many of their wars were very destructive of human life." Dibble's closing remark is illuminative in view of his opportunity of gaining early information.

The form of the Kakanilua account is very similar to that of a favorite and oft repeated episode in Hawaiian myth, in which the entire aggressive army of many hundreds (generally counted in *lau*) is destroyed, except one man purposely allowed to escape in order to tell of the disaster. Then a new army moves up, only to be destroyed in turn, and so on. Possibly it may belong to this class.

Probable Errors in Records

On the subject of destruction of human life through Kamehameha's wars, Bingham observes [3, p. 49]: "It is supposed that some six thousand of the followers of this chieftain, and twice that number of his opposers, fell in battle during his career, and by famine and distress occasioned by his wars and devastations, from 1780 to 1796."

Kamehameha conducted eleven campaigns during these years, in which time were nineteen battles or disasters affecting himself or opponents. However the greatest loss of life according to early writers was not from the battles, but from the starvation of

the vanquished and consequential sickness due to destruction of food sources and supplies—a recognized part of Hawaiian warfare. Even without allowing for such losses, the reader's figuring can in no way approach in average the figure of 4543 lost in a single battle as related in the "hidden chapter."

But Bingham's figures must be accepted with reservations. Broughton was his authority for other figures and, in July, 1796, used the loss-count 6000 in a different manner [6, p. 71]: "It was computed that Tamaahmaah had lost six thousand of his people by the conquest of this Island [Oahu] and subsequent calamities." But according to Bishop [4], only 20 were lost up to the completion of Oahu's conquest so that, according to Broughton, 5980 or practically the entire number were lost in calamities subsequent to Nuuanu battle. Is this a remarkable confirmation, after all, of the Kauai neo-myth?

However, Broughton made a curious slip, as may be seen in the following comparisons:

On October 16, 1795 Boit [5] recorded John Young's statement that at Oahu, Kamehameha had above.....	10,000 men
On January 11, 1796, apparently on Young's authority Broughton [6, p. 34] gave the count as.....	16,000
On February 21, 1796, Bishop [4] quoted Young...."near 10,000" and in the entry of February 28 states that the king left Hawaii with.....	"at least 10,000"

It seems clear that on his first visit Broughton made a slip, entering the figure as 16,000 instead of 10,000, and on his return, learning that the army count was about ten thousand, computed the non-existing balance as loss of life. Otherwise, Kamehameha's army was reduced by the loss to 4000 men, only part of which he took to Hawaii and defeated a rebel who had already gained control of four out of the six districts in the island [1, pp. 147-9; 6, p. 69]!

The Alleged Defeat

Alexander's generally accepted account [1, p. 147] of Kamehameha's attempt to invade Kauai is that in April, 1796, he left Waianae with his fleet at midnight, and steered by the stars for Wailua, Kauai: "But before the fleet was more than one fourth of the way across the channel, it encountered a tempest that

wrecked many of the canoes, and drove the rest back to Waianae." The account is founded on that by Kamakau [14, June 8, 1867] and, except for the details, is confirmed by the contemporary record of Broughton [6, p. 71].

The Kauai neo-myth, mentioned at the opening of this paper, has it that Kamehameha was on Maui at the time and that his army (estimated variously at 6000 and 10,000) actually landed in good order at Mahaulepu on Kauai, and was crushed by the Kauai warriors under their king, Kaumualii, as already stated.

Taking cognizance of the claim that the defeat was concealed by the dominant Hawaii people, attention is drawn to the fact that the important part of the below-mentioned contemporary information on the political situation was gathered *by foreigners* when *at Kauai* and immediately recorded as the vessels left the island for good.

The attempted invasion was between February and July, 1796, that is say, between Broughton's first and second visits. Alexander makes it April. Remembering that the "hidden chapter" designates Kaumualii as king of Kauai at the time, and the victorious leader, we may contrast the contemporary records:

On February 16, 1796, Broughton [6, p. 44] found Keawe, elder half-brother of Kaumualii, in possession of Waimea district on the west and in conflict for the throne. The loyalists held the east side.

Bishop [4], at Waimea from February 23 to 26, gives the same information and adds that Keawe was supported by most of the people. Several conflicts had already occurred, and another was expected as soon as the existing tabu ended. Bishop learned from Keawe his intention of joining Kamehameha should he arrive before the rebel gained complete control of Kauai. On the other hand, were Keawe successful before Kamehameha landed, the invader would be opposed with the united front of the island.

Keawe's campaign was successful, for when Broughton next arrived at Kauai in July, Keawe ruled and Kaumualii was his prisoner [6, p. 73]. The change apparently took place soon after Bishop's departure in February, at which time another action was imminent. If so, Keawe had been king for a month or more

when Kamehameha's warriors allegedly arrived in April and were defeated by Kaumuali'i!

In any case, the narrator of the Kauai neo-myth stated that he accompanied a contingent from Mana and reached Mahaulepu too late for the battle. But Mana, the western part of Waimea, was definitely under the control of Keawe at this time, and the contingent was of his soldiers, marching straight through his district or kingdom to aid his rival!

For a contemporary of Kamehameha, and one as aged as he assumed to be, the old neo-mythologist was singularly ignorant of contemporary knowledge. To quote from the account:

Kalaipahoa, the war god that had carried the standards of Kamehameha triumphantly through the battles of the conquest of the whole archipelago, was for the first time in danger. To lose that was to lose the kingdom; and probably the dynasty was then in peril . . . But Kalaipahoa did not stop at Maui. Through the Kaiauau they paddled . . . until . . . Kawaihae Bay, where at dawn the high priest carried his defeated idol up into its own temple in the lava flows of Kawaihae.

Kamehameha's war god was not Kalaipahoa but *Kukailimoku*, inherited from his uncle and foster-father Kalaniopuu and thirty generations of royal ancestors, the same which would be guarded by the high priest and deposited in the royal temple at Kawaihae. Kalaipahoa was very different, being the poison god from Molokai used by sorcerers. It would be out of place on the battle field.

The ancient story-teller neglected to mention the use of fire-arms in the conflict. On October 16, 1795 Boit was informed that Kamehameha was then on Oahu, planning the attack on Kauai, and had 1500 war canoes, above 10,000 men, 5000 prime muskets, which the natives were trained to use, together with many swivels and cannon and about twenty white men to serve them. Bishop gave similar figures in 1796, except that the canoes numbered 1200. Since the neo-myth allows Kamehameha's men to land and beach their canoes without disturbance, it is surprising the poorly armed Kauai warriors were so successful.

But where was Kamehameha all this time? According to a proper reading of the story, he was prisoner on Kauai [15, p. 139]: ". . . up among the sand hills were 543 prisoners, some of them with royal mamu cloaks on, showing that they were chiefs of royal rank, . . ." David Malo, whose authority on ancient customs is seldom questioned, recorded on the subject of the *mamu* cloak [17, p. 107]: "An *ahu-ula* made only of *mamu* feathers was

called an *alaneo* and was reserved exclusively for the king of a whole island, *alii ai moku*; it was his *kapa wai-kaua* or battle cloak." Ellis [10, p. 142] leaves a similar record.

Thus among the alleged captives could be but one chief entitled to wear a mamō cloak, namely Kamehameha. Such the reciter hardly dared to claim, or even that Kamehameha was present at the battle. Instead [15, p. 140] he actually states that Kamehameha was then on Maui!

So we find hidden on Maui, while his devoted army is being cut to pieces on Kauai, the war-scarred chief of endless ambition for conquest, Kamehameha, whose successes were due more to his dominating personality than to his warriors, whom he never failed to lead in battle; the chief whose attempts to conquer Kauai, foiled first by storm in 1796 and again by pestilence in 1805, were persisted in until the Kauai king made obeisance. Does it fit the pattern of Kamehameha who, in addition, both Dibble and Alexander state left for Kauai with his fleet? No better illustration of the absurdity of the so-called "hitherto hidden chapter of Hawaiian history" can be expected than the statement.

The story further illustrates the folly of accepting or even considering an account, carried to modern times by word of mouth, when contemporary written records are available.

Reconstruction

Possibly the Kauai story may be reconstructed. It may have been based on a somewhat apochryphal account of an invasion of Kauai by Kalaunuiohua, king of Hawaii about 1400 A. D. Aided by a sorceress, he triumphed over Maui, Molokai, and Oahu, and then attempted Kauai. According to Fornander [11, p. 68] he landed on the Koloa coast and was utterly defeated and captured by Kukona, king of Kauai. If this ancient legend contain any truth, it may have served as the foundation for the modern one.

Returning to the later story, it would be over-boldness to deny that any of Kamehameha's intending invaders ever reached Kauai when his fleet is said to have numbered 1200 to 1500 canoes. No doubt some failed to receive the signal to return, and through persistence reached the shores of Kauai. Steering for Wailua, the storm may readily have driven them to Mahaulepu. The Kauai

story relates: "The Hawaii legend runs to the effect that three canoes landed and after the fight, made their escape, . . ." The authority for the legend is not quoted, but possibly such did happen. If so, the occurrence may have provided a small kernel of truth on which the whole extraordinary account has been built.

With one or neither of these foundations, we may examine into the occasion which brought the Kauai story to light. Lydgate suggests that the old Hawaiian was "stringing" his listeners. This may be so. It has happened before and no doubt will happen again. However, the published account itself furnishes a motive.

Need had arisen for Hawaiian skulls for scientific research. Being sought at Mana, the local natives objected strongly because the dune burials there were "of their ancestors, people of their own villages, and they looked upon it as a great sacrilege." But the collector was an influential man, and the matter required finesse:

"Why do you not go to Mahaulepu and take the bones of the Hawaii men there," says one, a village head man . . . "The beach is strewn with thousands upon thousands of skulls and bones, but as the warriors are slain in battle, we have no care for them. They have lain there since the defeat of Kamehameha's army."

Possibly the natives of Mana, at the west angle of Kauai, had no interest in the burials of the natives of Koloa, at the south-east angle. Hence, it may be, the skillful focussing of the collector's attention on the Koloa dunes, and the evolution of a very remarkable story which helped to preserve the Mana skeletons.

Summary

Utterly opposed to accepted history, recently appeared an account describing the disastrous repulse on the Koloa sand dunes of an invasion of Kauai from Hawaii, 120 years before. It was related 98 years after the event by an alleged contemporary and near participant who claimed, in proof of his story, that the numerous skeletons on the Koloa dunes were those of the unburied Hawaii soldiers, and that the version accepted as historical was invented to conceal the facts.

The reputations of the recorder and publisher of the story are of the highest. Nevertheless the improbability or impossibility of the affair are clearly shown by the journal entries of foreigners recorded at Kauai immediately before and after the time of the

alleged event. Information gathered by reliable authorities more than a century ago proves that the raconteur was ignorant of the name of his chief, and of the current history and native customs of the time in which he claimed to have lived, and implies that then he was not even born. Furthermore, when analysed, the presence of skeletal material on the Koloa dunes, adduced as to quantity and location in proof, is intrinsically a flat denial of the truth of the account.

Finally, in the recorder's introduction may be found a motive for the story which could have served the raconteur's purpose, and may explain the whole matter.

Perhaps, after all, the best account of the Koloa dunes is that by Whitney, recorded on the spot in 1826, thirty years after the alleged battle and before historical distortions began to function. As already stated, he was told that the skeletons he saw did not indicate a battle-field, but the cemetery of the vicinity. And without doubt his authorities were reliable.

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GEORGE MANINI IN UVEA (WALLIS ISLAND)

By Edwin G. Burrows

At the annual meeting of this society in 1929, Professor R. S. Kuykendall read a paper on "Some Early Commercial Adventurers of Hawaii." One of these adventurers was George Marina or Manini, half-Hawaiian son of the Spaniard Don Francisco de Paula Marin, one of the most celebrated early European residents of Hawaii. The Hawaiian form of the name, Manini, is used in the account to be presented here. Professor Kuykendall told of the voyage of Manini's son George to Uvea, also known as Wallis Island, and his assassination there by the natives. The sources for this account were two books written by American sailors who went to Uvea with George Manini, and some other material, such as contemporary records and letters, preserved in Hawaii. Professor Kuykendall's paper gives full reference to these sources.

This paper presents another version of the same episode, one told by the natives of Uvea. Uvea is a Polynesian island lying west of Samoa and north of Fiji. My source is the "Talanoa ki Uvea" or history of Uvea compiled from native traditions and genealogies by Father Henquel, a French missionary who died about 1910. His manuscript was printed at the Catholic theological seminary in Uvea for the use of natives studying for the priesthood. In the course of ethnological field work on the island, I hired an Uvean, whom I knew only as Paulo, to translate Henquel's history. Having lived in New Caledonia, Paulo spoke French fluently. We discussed in French the meaning of each passage, then I typed it in English. What follows is the part of this translation relating to George Manini and the Hawaiians who came with him.

"A boat came, directed by one Captain Moane, in the year 1825. It is the first European boat to anchor at Uvea. Other boats had come, but passed outside the reef. But it did not remain long. It went away at once, because the Uveans were hostile. Some time after came another ship of two masts, named

Maholalangi from Oahu. This was the boat of Siasoi Manini.

"His father was a Spaniard named Manini. His mother was Taupe of Oahu. He was agent for a capitalist named Aluli, from Oahu. He came to look for beche-de-mer. He anchored at Fenuafo'ou. And Toifale and all the Uveans went to Fenuafo'ou to welcome him. Some time after, he went on to Fiji, where he was received by a chief of Somosomo named Tuilala. He did not stay there long, but returned to Uvea. He came to anchor at Haofa. And Siasoi Manini married a daughter of Takala named Kahoila. And his men did likewise. Uamaka married Malekalita Lita; Teo married Atumosikava, the daughter of Toke; and Sione married a daughter of Sila named Fehoko. Some time later Manini went way to get equipment for collecting beche-de-mer. With him went Takala and all the Uvean women who had married his men, except Fehoko and her husband and Hulu and his wife Finau, and Kilama and his wife Mele.

"When Siasoi Manini returned with his people, Lavelua was king. He came on a two-masted American boat, the Haliata, and with him were many men of Vaihi (Hawaii). These are their names: Timo, and Tamotini, and Tamu, a man from Rurutu, and Kumi, a strong man, and Pelekame, and Aluli and Tamalii and Tioi and Tutaemoa, and Paniani, and Kamanini, and Namaka, and Hale Pulipahu, and others. And they came to anchor at Mataaho. They disembarked and put up a building for storing beche-de-mer. They put up also a store. And they began collecting beche-de-mer. The Uveans also went to work at this, selling what they collected and buying from the store. Some time after, another two-master named the Senisila arrived, in command of Captain Misi. It went away with the ship of Siasoi Manini to Hawaii, to carry the beche-de-mer.

"About this time there was in Uvea a double canoe from Tonga named Fusimomoho, in command of Vuna. The family Kivalu was allied with them in a plot to kill the king Lavelua so that they might reign. They decided later to kill Siasoi Manini instead in order to get weapons. One Finaulangi with his brothers, Mataifanga and Tuakifaiva and Punufuu and Tanai and Tai, went to Mataaho to await their chance. They danced by night with Manini's people, and their plan became known and was told to Manini. He was furious, and prepared to fight them. He had

the big cannons fired, in order to find out who was the leader of the plot, whether it was Lavelua. He learned that it was not; only the Kivalu family and the Tongans. He went in a canoe to Vilau. There he saw one Honolio, brother of Kivalu; and when they disembarked there were many men on the shore. He fired on them, and they all fled into the bush. And Peautau came down, and they fired upon him; and he also fled. And they burned the houses. Then Manini went back to his islet to prepare war against Hahake [the district of Uvea where Kivalu lived].

"Timo went to announce to Lavelua and Kivalu that war was declared. And they made a fort at Falaleu. Now Mua [a district often at war with Hahake], and the families of Takala, and Sila, and Puiaki, and Mahituku, and his brothers, were allied with Manini. The next day they came to Hahake in a British boat and Uvean canoes. They came ashore before Falaleu. Lavelua sent a white man named Ngufua to Manini. When they finished their parley, the white man returned, and Manini fired on him, knowing, it is said, that it was a treacherous thing to do, and killed him. And they came ashore at Makakali near Falaleu. There was shooting but no one was killed. They hauled ashore two cannon. They arrived at Tongotongo. One of Manini's men, a Spaniard named Pelokou, was wounded at Falaleu, on the side near Haafuasia. Two Uveans were killed, named Toevalu and Mate. They were buried at Mataotama. The battle raged until evening, and they burned Haafuasia [a village] and went back to Nukuatea.

"The next morning they made ready to return. They learned that everyone had fled into the wilderness, and the Tongan boat had put to sea, with the double canoe Famokai, belonging to Esiholoia. Among those aboard were Kivalu, Fuluhea, Finaulangi, and his brothers, and Kulihaapai, and Faiana, and Fuluipuaka and Tuulomia, and Fulilangi, and Maile, and Tanginoia, and Tapai, and Tuiuvea, and many others. They went to Samoa.

"Now Lavelua and Taofifenua and other chiefs remained in the wilderness.

"Siaosi Manini ordered the warriors of Mua to go in search of them, saying 'When you find them, bring them to Nukuatea.' And the Mua men and Puliuvea went into the wilderness. Puliuvea fired on his brother-in-law Lupeheke at Afala and killed him.

But Siaoasi Manini had given instructions not to injure Lavelua or Taofifenua.

"They captured them and brought them to Nukuatea. He made kava for them in his quarters. And he ordered the search to continue for the chiefs and the others to keep them captive at Nukuatea, to serve Siaoasi Manini and Takala. And they planned to move the royal residence from Hahake to Mua. They wished to name Siaoasi Manini as king, but he declined. So they considered Takala and Esiholoia. Finally they named Takala. They announced this choice to all Uvea.

"Takala was now king. Siaoasi Manini ordered a tax to be levied, and as if it was a little thing ordered it to be collected on the next day. He had all the Uveans come to Nukuatea to attend his council. His first command was that everyone should cut his hair. And Lavelua himself cut the hair of Amelia. Meanwhile Lavelua and all the people were sitting in the sun on the *malae* (village green) at Mataaho. And he made the men of Falaleu stand in one place and those of Matautu in another, before their canoes. He also ordered the men to pierce the septum of their noses; but he did not enforce this. And he chose the prettiest women as wives for the Hawaiians. And he chose also young men to attend him [the word used is *hulumanu*, a Hawaiian term]. So the council ended. When all the people had gone away, he cut wood to build a fort of coconut logs at Nukuatea. Its length was forty spans. Now this was the time of the months Lihamua and Lihamuli. There was a hurricance lasting eight days.

"When the chiefs of Mua saw that Siaoasi Manini had given oppressive orders, they planned to get rid of him. Some of the chiefs did this, but others did not know of it. Takala, Puliueva, and Kilikili were not with them. It was Mahituku and his brothers, and Tauhola and his brothers, and Siutaula the son of Sila, and Tuiueva and Hua.

"They sent Tauhola to engage Takala in conversation. Hua told them to leave Siaoasi Manini to him. But Paulo and Kama and Havea-toaki climbed upon the platform on the rafters, to do away with Manini. Soon Manini came out.

"Just then there were many man-o'-war birds flying overhead, as the hurricance was over. Manini went out with his musket. Sione Mila had the lead and powder. Manini walked back and

forth before his house, watching the birds, to shoot them. Hua went with him. Manini reached the house of Takala, he put his musket to his shoulder, and his arms were engaged with it. Then Hua said 'Look at the man-o'-war bird!' And Siaoisi Manini looked up. Hua saw his chance, and struck Manini on the neck. And he cut his head off, so that it was hanging by the skin. So Manini died.

"Then Sione Mila fled. Hua took after him. And Sione Mila called to Sione Poe: 'Hey, Sione Poe, tii te pu! Siaoisi is dead!' When Uamaka heard this, from the cook shed, he ran out, and they killed him too. And they massacred all the Hawaiians who were at Nukuatea. They also went after those who were elsewhere about Uvea, to kill them. They found one party of Hawaiians at Nukulau, and killed them. Lavelua heard of it, and came to Liku, where he slew a Hawaiian called Hale, and one at Alele, named Hulu, and one also at Haafuasiasia; but they did not kill the whites."

Here ends the Uvean narrative. Some of the Hawaiians escaped, and doubtless furnished certain details included in the Uvean tradition. A number of Uveans of today reckon among their ancestors the "men of Vaihi."

In itself this story is only a melodramatic tale of early trading in the South Seas. It has a certain interest in Hawaii because of the persons involved. It has also a value from the point of view of historical method, because it permits testing the accuracy of Uvean tradition by checking it against the accounts preserved in Hawaii. A few details may be worth considering. The name of the boat on which Manini first reached Uvea is given in the Uvean account as *Maholalangi*. S. M. Kamakau's "Moolelo Hawaii", of which the Bishop museum has a manuscript translation prepared by Mrs. Mary Pukui and Miss Martha Beckwith, gives the name as *Kamaholelani*. Manini's second ship is called in Uvean *Haliata*. In the book "The Wreck of the Glide", she is called the *Harriet* and described as a brig, which agrees with the Uvean mention of two masts. A third vessel, that went to Hawaii with the *Harriet*, is called in Uvean the *Senisila*. Professor Kuykendall gives it as *Chinchilla*. Its captain, the Uveans say, was named Misi. Professor Kuykendall gives it as Meek. Except for the greater de-

tail of the Uvean account, a similar close correspondence prevails throughout. The sole exception is the name of the white man shot by Manini after he had tried to make peace. The Uvean account calls him Ngufua. In "The Wreck of the Glide" he is identified as an American named Ridington. Obviously the Uveans had given him a native name. The Uveans could not translate the phrase "*Tii te pu*", Sione Mila's cry to Sione Poe after Manini's death. They said it was Hawaiian. In Hawaiian, it appears, *Kii ke pu* means "Get the gun", which is just what a man would say in those circumstances.

This test speaks well for the accuracy of Uvean tradition within this comparatively recent period. I was able to make similar tests of two other Uvean traditions recorded by Father Henquel, neither of which involves Hawaii. One recounts the capture of a British ship, within a few years of Manini's death. It is confirmed in considerable detail by an Admiralty report. The other deals with the migration of a party of Uveans to another island, a little before the time of European contact. Even the supernatural episodes of the story turn up again, little changed, in an island in the Loyalties, also called Uvea.

Naturally the same trust can not be placed in the traditions collected by Father Henquel about the beginnings of Uvean history. These are misty fragments involving a large element of myth. Maui, for example, plays a large part in them, as he does in Hawaiian tradition.

GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE IN THE SOCIETY ISLANDS

By Henry P. Judd

For a long period of time this Society has not considered a certain portion of Polynesia which lies within the purview of the activities of our organization. I refer to the Society Islands, about which a certain glamor lingers and concerning which a vast amount of misinformation has been scattered abroad by means of fanciful writing and foolish tales.

Tahiti and the adjacent islands of the group composing both what is called the Windward and the Leeward Islands should be the object of study of representative citizens of Hawaii not only for the historical connection between this Territory and Tahiti, but also because the field is rich in all branches of science which should awaken our curiosity.

The early voyages between Tahiti and Hawaii established the beginning of a connection which has never been severed, although the tie has been somewhat tenuous and weak at times.

In this paper we propose to trace the way in which Great Britain, first to discover the Society Islands, has been gradually shelved from the domination of the group and France become mistress in her stead. The title of this paper is therefore "Great Britain and France in the Society Islands."

This cannot be an original study, but we can endeavor to interpret events of the long ago in the light of modern developments. We must depend on the chronicles of the early days, on letters, on documents and the like, from which we hope to paint a true picture of what actually happened in Tahiti, in Moorea and the Leeward Islands.

In the search for materials on which this paper depends for facts contained herein, the writer has quite naturally discovered the two sides of the case both for and against France in taking possession of the islands. There is the intensely anti-French attitude and there is also the point of view that defends France from adverse criticism.

The chief source of my information regarding the various steps by which France came into supreme influence has been a book entitled *The Pacific, its Past and Future* by Mr. Guy Scholefield, Librarian of the Parliamentary Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Because it treats in concise form of the main events in the development of French influence in the group, I have drawn heavily upon that excellent work. Other sources have, however, been used in order to secure other points of view and thus obtain a fair picture of what did happen in Tahiti.

We should remind ourselves that the first discovery of Tahiti by Europeans is credited to the Englishman, Captain Wallis, who arrived in 1767 on H. M. S. *Dolphin*. Wallis says that Queen Beria ceded her kingdom to England and the English flag was raised at Matavai Bay on June 23, Wallis naming the island "King George the Third's Island", a term complimentary to the king but too long for ordinary conversation when the word Tahiti was already in use among the inhabitants.

The Royal Society selected that very spot as the place from which observations of the transit of Venus should be made by Captain Cook. That great navigator made three trips to Tahiti, one on each of his three voyages. He called the islands after the Royal Society, "The Society Islands."

The founding of the London Missionary Society in 1795 offered an opportunity to these British evangelical missionaries to begin their labors in Tahiti and with the arrival of the ship *Duff* early in 1797, the first definite British influence was released by the preachers, teachers and other workers. King Pomare received the missionaries cordially and their genial and unselfish ways commended the workers to the natives. For several years things went along smoothly until civil war in 1809 drove the missionaries first to Huahine and then to Port Jackson. The situation gradually adjusted itself and finally the new Pomare, son of the old king, came to Moorea and asked to be baptized. Pomare was invited to return to Tahiti, from which he had fled when attacked by the rebels. In 1815 the idols of Moorea were destroyed and the next year the people of Raiatea followed suite. From that time on, English civilization spread rapidly through the preaching of the ministers and the system of arts and crafts developed in the islands.

The same problem that confronted the American missionaries in Hawaii was faced by the English missionaries: to what extent should they take interest in governmental affairs? It was evident that the missionaries would be called upon for advice. John Williams wrote concerning this point: "There are circumstances where he (the English missionary) must step out of his ordinary course and appear more prominent than he would wish, for frequently a word from the missionary, rightly timed, will do more towards settling a dispute, healing a breach, burying an animosity or carrying a useful plan into execution than a whole year's cajoling of the natives themselves would have effected."

In the *Narrative of the U. S. Exploring Expedition* by Charles Wilkes it is stated by the commodore who visited Tahiti in 1839 that the missionaries then undoubtedly had great influence over the natives. "But I am satisfied," he adds, "that they are justly entitled to it. Indeed, I cannot but consider it as part of their duty, nay, the great object of their mission to acquire and exercise a salutary control over their converts, both of high and low degree. My own observations satisfied me that this control is exerted solely for the purpose of fulfilling the laudable object for which they were sent. . . . We may, perhaps, lament their intolerance towards other sects, but no one can visit the island without perceiving on every side the most positive evidence of the great benefits they have already bestowed and are daily bestowing upon the inhabitants."

The first code of laws was enacted in 1819 and served as a good beginning. In the following year Raiatea adopted a code and the islands of Tahaa, Borabora and Maupiti followed the example set by Raiatea. Huahine the next year adopted a code drafted by the missionaries.

On April 21, 1824, King Pomare III was duly crowned as Papaoa. The ceremony was conducted by a missionary who handed the code of laws to the young king, aged four years, and explained "the importance and advantage of being governed by just laws."

In 1825 Queen Pomare asked England for protection, adding "another petition also is that you will never abandon us but regard us with kindness forever." Canning replied that while King George "feels every disposition to comply with your wish as far as he can do so with propriety, he regrets that consistently with

the usages established among the nations of Europe, it would be improper to grant the permission you solicit to use the British flag". His Majesty would, however, be glad to extend to the queen and her people "all such protection as His Majesty can grant to a friendly power at so remote a distance from his own kingdoms". King George congratulated the queen on the great moral and social advancement of her realm consequent on the introduction of Christianity.

Now comes the first rift in the lute of harmony and the first steps leading to the loss of British influence. In November, 1836, the schooner *William Hamilton* arrived with two Catholic priests, Laval and Carret, from the Gambier Islands. Passengers could not be landed without permission first having been obtained. In this instance permission was not asked for, but a few days after landing, the priests waited in person on the queen and tendered the amount of the fine imposed. The money was refused and the offenders were informed they could not remain on the island. They were determined to stay until the arrival of a French ship of war, but Tahitian constables compelled them to depart. Shortly afterwards Laval and another priest made a fresh attempt to land from an American ship, applying for permission in the regular manner. Permission was refused, however, and the priests prevented from landing. The incident caused the English consul-missionary Pritchard to write to Lord Palmerston a letter which shows the difficulties facing Tahiti. "Her Majesty (Pomare) is anxious to know whether the British or any other government can compel Her Majesty to receive any body of foreigners that may be disposed to settle in her dominions. Tahiti is acknowledged by the British Government as an independent nation, hence she hoists her own flag. If she be considered as an independent nation, has she any power to enact laws for her own government so long as those do not interfere with, nor are contrary to, the laws of nations? . . . At present there are several Frenchmen who are determined to land and reside on this island as Roman Catholic missionaries."

This was the beginning of a long and fierce controversy which only ended with the annexation of Tahiti by France. Mr. Pritchard enclosed a letter from Queen Pomare V to Lord Palmerston in which she asked: "Is it suitable that they (the Catholics)

should come here and disturb the peace of my government? It is by no means agreeable to us to receive these Roman Catholic missionaries. We have a sufficient quantity of teachers in our land. We agree well with them; they do not trouble us. We conceive these Roman Catholic missionaries have nothing to do with our island and hence we are determined not to receive them".

Lord Palmerston replied that so far from having sanctioned the invasion of the Catholic missionaries, the British Government had no knowledge of them whatever. "Neither would the Government of this country have any right to give or withhold their sanction to the residence of the subjects of any other nation in territories which do not appertain to Great Britain. Of course every government has a right to refuse any foreigners permission to reside within its dominions if the presence of such foreigners is considered hurtful to the state; but if no such reason exists for requiring foreigners to depart, it is contrary to the usual rules of international hospitality to force them to leave a country in which they may wish to take up their abode, provided they do not infringe the laws of the land."

Louis Philippe saw in the opposition to the Catholics an excellent means of gaining popularity with a certain section of his people and so the French naval commanders began to show an aggressive zeal in defence of Catholic missions. This was noticed here in Hawaii and elsewhere.

In September, 1837, Bishop Pompallier, the first Vicar-Apostolic of Western Oceania, arrived at Tahiti and at once waited upon the queen. The Bishop was given permission to walk ashore and he celebrated mass. He decided not to occupy islands where the Protestant missionaries were already located, but in a few years "the claims of the Catholics to toleration even in wholly Protestant islands were enforced by the guns of the French Navy".

Dr. Karl Scherzer of the Austrian frigate *Novara* candidly admitted that Christianity had been established in Tahiti for thirty-nine years with excellent results before the first Catholic missionaries appeared.

On August 30, 1838, the French frigate *Venus*, Commodore Thouars, anchored at Papeete and on the next day an ultimatum was sent to Queen Pomare. It was made clear to Mr. Pritchard that "the only alternative to devastation was to comply with the

demands". Mr. Pritchard and two or three Englishmen subscribed the amount demanded. Under the show of force—two other French ships having arrived—the queen and the chiefs agreed to a treaty with France.

Under the terms of the French demands, an apology in French and Tahitian was to be made in twenty-four hours, an indemnity of two thousand Spanish dollars paid and a salute of twenty-one guns given to the French flag. There being neither guns nor powder, the French commander lent both to the British consul and by this vicarious arrangement the French flag was duly saluted. The next step was to demand of the queen the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and reciprocal freedom for nationals. Pomare objected that as her people were all Protestants she did not desire the Catholic doctrines to be taught at all. To this Thouars replied that as Frenchmen, all priests must receive full protection under the Tahitian Government, but that at the same time it was "competent to Her Majesty to enact a law forbidding the teaching of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church in her dominion". The formal treaty was signed to which the only objection was that it was signed under duress.

Commodore Wilkes made this interesting comment on the episode: "It is difficult to say which was most in the wrong. The Protestant religion was established by law upon the island to the exclusion of all others, and this the priests well knew; nor can any but zealots excuse their intrusions upon a missionary ground already fully and successfully occupied. On the other hand their precipitate expulsion, under circumstances of great hardship, exhibited an unchristian spirit, for which the resident missionaries may justly be held responsible, as they unquestionably had it in their power to prevent any possible ill-treatment on the part of the natives."

As to the action of the French naval authorities, Wilkes termed it "high-handed" and said it hardly admitted of justification. "The French commander appears in thus bullying a defenceless people into payment of an exorbitant indemnity and into a relinquishment of the right of admitting or excluding foreigners and strange religious creeds by municipal regulation in a light far from advantageous".

The queen and her chiefs petitioned Queen Victoria for help,

adding that having passed laws to improve their condition, the Tahitians found themselves unable to carry them out and even threatened "in what we have dearest to our hearts—the Protestant faith and our nationality".

The Tahitian Legislature passed a law declaring Protestantism to be the only lawful religion. Any person coming to Tahiti to disturb that Gospel or to teach any other was to be deported and any native Tahitian propagating gospels inconsistent with the gospel of truth taught by the British missionaries was similarly liable to be banished from the realm. This was a challenge that France could scarcely ignore.

Tahiti did not have an eager champion in Great Britain. Lord Palmerston gave practically the same vague answer that Canning had given twelve years previously. After expressing deep concern at the troubles which confronted Queen Pomare, he instructed the consul to inform her that Queen Victoria felt it would be impossible for her "to fulfill with proper punctuality any defensive obligations which Her Majesty might contract towards the government and inhabitants of Tahiti; . . . Her Majesty is bound in good faith to decline to enter into a specific engagement of the kind which has been suggested . . . Her Majesty will at all times be ready to attend to any representations that Queen Pomare may wish to make and will always be glad to give protection of her good offices in any differences which may arise between Queen Pomare and any other power."

No sooner had the anti-Catholic law come into force than Capt. La Place in the frigate *L'Artemise* arrived at Tahiti in distress. He spent some weeks in refitting and observing the course of affairs and as soon as his vessel was ready for sea he anchored off Papeete and demanded the repeal of the law. Pomare, still hoping for a favorable reply from England, pleaded that the law was passed at the suggestion of Thouars. La Place accepted no excuse and under the old threat of guns the law was repealed. The next demand was for land for a Catholic church in Papeete and then that in every village where a Protestant church had been built, a Catholic church should also be built gratuitously.

In June, 1839, a document was presented by La Place in which the queen promised that no Frenchman should be molested in his religious duties and that the free exercise of the Catholic religion

should be permitted in Tahiti and the other islands of the group.

It appears that the English missionaries as advisers of the queen were a direct opposition to French interests and as soon as Palmerston's attitude was manifested, the French demands must be conceded and must lead to further encroachments.

The Catholics now established themselves firmly in the group and the presence of French warships increased their prestige. The progress of this form of religion was resisted steadily until the climax in 1842. We have here Commodore Wilkes' words as to the situation: "A treaty was also forced upon the Government, allowing all Frenchmen to visit the island freely, to erect churches and to practice their religion. Thus the local laws were abrogated under the threats of an irresistible force and the national independence virtually surrendered. This was a high-handed measure on the part of the French commander and one that hardly admits of justification, particularly the demand for money; for he himself had been received with great hospitality and not long before another of his sovereign's frigates had been saved from wreck by the unrecompensed exertions of the Tahitians. The amount demanded also was at least four times as great as the pecuniary damage incurred by the priests would be reasonably valued at".

This quotation refers to the second visit of Dupetit Thouars who returned to Tahiti in September, 1842. Thouars complained to the regent that the flag of the French priests had been insulted and that there was not a single Frenchman in that kingdom who had not some complaint to make of the iniquities and overbearing conduct of the government. Contrary to law, their domiciles had been entered and they had been beaten, thrown into prison and executed as villains, without being able to obtain a hearing. And all this in spite of the most-favored nation treatment guaranteed by the treaty. "Ill-advised, submitting to all things fatal to her true interests, the queen will learn a second time that the faith and loyalty of a power such as France is not with immunity to be trifled with".

In consequence of this fresh demand of Thouars, a document was signed by the chiefs asking the French king for his protection for Tahiti. Thouars had demanded \$10,000 as security for good behavior and threatened that in default of receiving it, he would

occupy with French troops the queen's forts and Motu-uta, an island at the entrance of Papeete.

The queen and chiefs resigned to the French king "all foreign policy" and the offer was accepted, subject to the king's approval. A protectorate government was set up consisting of three members nominated by the admiral and the function of this provisional government was to regulate all the affairs of foreigners. Without entering into details, it is sufficient to state that on November 5 Thouars returned with the announcement that Louis Philippe had accepted the proffered protectorate and three days later Captain Bruat was installed as commissioner to Queen Pomare. France was triumphant. The British missionaries now signed a memorial expressing the loyal acceptance of the position.

The scene shifts from Tahiti to Europe. In March 1843 Lord Cowley, the British minister in Paris, was informed that the sovereignty of Tahiti had been offered to France. He was also told "We have nothing to conceal with respect to our proceedings in the Pacific. . . . He afterwards observed that there were some grounds for apprehending that the tranquility of the islands in the Pacific might be disturbed by dissensions on account of the differences of the religious tenets of the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries. He did not however say that any disturbance had yet taken place".

Guizot said in the Chamber of Peers that "no impediment would be thrown in the way of dissemination of the Christian religion and that equal protection would be given to Protestant and to Catholic missionaries". A day or so later Cowley was informed that special instructions had been sent to the French naval authorities in the Pacific to protect the Protestant missionaries. Being pressed for more specific assurances, Guizot declared "that the government of the king, in the system which it proposes to apply to the Marquesas and Society Islands will remain faithful to three great principles which it has never departed from—the liberty of religious worship; protection to the subjects of a friendly power; and finally, the no less sacred duty of assisting in the labors taken to spread the benefits of Christianity".

Guizot used these words: "From the beginning, France had no other object in her acquisitions than of wishing to acquire in the Pacific Ocean a point which would serve at once as a healthy

and safe penal settlement and a station to which our mercantile navy might resort for supplies or for refuge."

Dupetit Thouars had been told to take possession of the Marquesas, but there was no intention at all as regards Tahiti. When the French Government was informed some months later that he had been led to establish a protectorate there, it realized "not without regret that some difficulties might result from this proceeding in regard to our relations with England, but we ratified the act unhesitatingly". The only impelling reason Guizot could recall was that the French flag had just been hoisted in the Pacific and "we could not consent that at the very moment of its appearance it should be withdrawn". Guizot added that it would be "an insensate enterprise" for a government to undertake to carry on a religious propagandism and to impose a religion by force even on pagans. "The English missionaries in Tahiti were real moral magistrates, possessed of great power over both the population and chiefs; revered preachers and reformers, enjoying at once the success of their teaching and the pleasures of domination. The establishment of the French protectorate was naturally unpleasant to them; it involved a danger to their faith, the downfall of their preponderance, and a check on the reputation of their country in the Pacific Ocean".

The next step was the British renunciation in Tahiti. Aberdeen made this statement some months later: "While H. M. Government have not acknowledged the right of France to assume and exercise a protectorship, they have nevertheless done nothing to call that right in question". The cession he considered was brought about partly by intrigue and partly by intimidation; nevertheless it was made "voluntarily and completed in due form".

However much the British Government regretted to see Tahiti subjected to a foreign power, there did not seem to be sufficient ground to dispute the cession on the ground of illegality. The British Foreign Office advised that the flag which the French admiral had introduced should be saluted by British naval commanders and that they should not enter into any dispute as to the right of the French to exercise authority in conjunction with Queen Pomare.

Cowley was instructed to inform the French Government that Britain would offer no opposition to the French protectorate;

nevertheless Aberdeen wrote that the British Government considered themselves "fully authorized by the ancient and friendly connection which had subsisted between Great Britain and the Society Islands since the very first discovery by a British navigator, by the promise of good offices made to these people on different occasions by the British Government and by the fact of the islands having been converted and civilized by British missionaries to intercede with the French Government for the purpose of securing to the unfortunate queen of those islands all the liberty compatible with the restrictions she has imposed upon herself and especially to obtain for her protection from the harsh treatment to which she has been subjected." "H. M. Government consider themselves bound by every consideration of national honor and justice to support the British missionaries in the Society Islands and they cannot allow that the recent change which has taken place in any way alters or weakens that obligation".

We have referred more than once to Mr. Pritchard, the British missionary-consul, zealous always to uphold British influence in Tahiti. In his enthusiasm, he was led to acts that might lead to a conflict between the two great powers, France and Britain. Pritchard was warned by Lord Aberdeen to observe caution and courtesy towards the French authorities and "above all things you will be careful to use no expression in your intercourse with the queen or her chiefs which could encourage them to expect at any time active assistance from H. M. Government against the French".

Pritchard was informed officially by Thouars that "in consequence of action alike hostile and offensive to the dignity of the King of France, he found himself under the necessity no longer to recognize Queen Pomare as the sovereign of the lands and people of the Society Islands and that tomorrow, in the name of the King and of France, he would take official possession of the islands".

On November 7 he ordered the Queen's standard to be struck under threat of armed force. Pomare appealed to her people to rely "on the justice and clemency of the King of the French and the other sovereigns of Europe".

The French account of the arrest of Mr. Pritchard may be told in these words: "Pritchard forced a break between the queen

and Dupetit Thouars who, at the limit of his patience, caused Pritchard to be arrested. In March 1844 he declared the queen deposed and took possession of the island. Pritchard addressed a violent protest to the British Government and one feared as a result international complications and a break between France and England. Finally Louis Philippe gave in; he disavowed Dupetit Thouars and parliament finally granted Pritchard the indemnity he claimed. This defeatist attitude led to a real revolution among the natives which was not calmed until 1847".

Pritchard was arrested and thrown into a miserable block-house. He was soon on his way to England, however, and the story of what had happened to this British consul created much excitement and relations with France became strained. It was felt by many that an insult had been offered to the person of the British consul. He demanded satisfaction which was later acceded to by the French Government. The English missionary societies had spent a large sum of money in the christianizing of the Society Islands and had developed the field successfully. Now came another nation to take over the sovereignty from Great Britain.

Guizot contended that Pritchard was merely a foreign resident and an English missionary who, by his acts and speeches and advice to Queen Pomare had shown hostility to the French authority. He admitted, however, that Pritchard's detention was illegal and the manner of it deserving of blame. The affair was settled between the two nations and due compensation paid by the French Government.

In 1847 the British Government made representations in favor of the natives who were still in revolt against the French regime. As a result those who wished to leave the islands were permitted to do so. A declaration was signed at London by which the independence of the Leeward Islands—Huahine, Raiatea and Borabora and other smaller islands adjacent—was acknowledged; this was termed "Reciprocal independence." Raiatea was for forty years a problem to France. England steadfastly refused to waive her rights and allow France to take the island. In 1858 the United States consul took steps on his own responsibility to annex it, but the prior rights of France barred the way and the act was disavowed.

In 1877, after reigning nominally for fifty years, Queen Pomare died. The protectorate over Tahiti was converted into possession by annexation, June, 1880. The French commissioner at Raiatea in response to a request from the chiefs declared a provisional protectorate over that island. Britain at once protested under the Declaration of London, while the captain of a British ship ordered a French lieutenant to lower the flag at Raiatea. The flag of Raiatea was hoisted in its place and a royal salute given. Finally in May, 1880, France was free to extend her sovereignty over the whole group.

The Society Islands are now organized into one colony with the headquarters of the administration at Papeete, Tahiti. The tri-color of France flies proudly from government buildings, ships in the harbor and elsewhere, French officials conduct the administration of government, French money and stamps are used, the islands are ostensibly French, but the population has not been Frenchified as yet. Much of the commerce is in British hands, small traders and shop-keepers are Chinese, and the large portion of the native population seem apparently indifferent in their attitude towards France.

We have seen the gradual displacement of British influence by the France in much the same manner as the owner of the tent in the desert found himself gradually displaced by the nose, the neck, the shoulders, and the body of the camel.

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